FBIS DAILY REPORT

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Vol II No 087 *6 May 1981*

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DEFENSE MINISTER DZHUROV'S MAY DAY ORDER

AU051123 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 May 81 p 1

["Text" of 1 May Order of the Day by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense]

[Text] Comrades soldiers, sailors, sergeants and petty officers,
Comrades officers, general and admirals,
Comrades workers, technicians, engineers and employees of the military plants and organizations,
Soldiers of the reserve forces:

The Bulgarian people and their soldiers, together with the working people throughout the world, will festively celebrate 1 May--the day of the working people's international solidarity.

We will celebrate 1 May this year in an atmosphere of nationwide political and working upsurge, evoked by the historic decisions of the 12th BCP and 26th CPSU Congresses. The day will be celebrated on the eve of the party's 90th anniversary, the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state and the forthcoming general elections.

The working people of our renewed and progressing motherland will celebrate 1 May united and rallied around the BCP Leninist April line, which is being creatively and consistently implemented by the Central Committee, led by its Secretary General Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

On their combat holiday the workers class, the agrarian workers and the figures from the spheres of science and culture, will proudly report their remarkable successes in constructing the developed socialist society, evaluated by the 12th BCP Congress as the highest summit of our 1,300-year development.

Marching in the 1 May parade the working people will once again express their complete support of the 12th BCP Congress decisions and their readiness to selflessly work for putting them into effect and implementing the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

This year the day of the working people's international solidarity will be marked in a complex and contradictory international situation. The reactionary imperialist forces are again attempting to return the world to "cold war." Their overtly hostile positions and actions against the USSR, the socialist countries and all progressive mankind are leading towards a new and dangerous arms race and creating a real danger for the peoples' peace and security. In these complex conditions, the socialist countries are steadily following the Leninist policy of peace, and are taking all necessary measures for securing the reliable defense of their peoples' historic achievements.

The soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are constantly increasing their vigilance and combat readiness, and are strengthening the combat friendship and cooperation with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, led by the invincible Soviet Army. They fully support the foreign policy of the USSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the socialist community, and are always ready to defend the peaceful and constructive work of the Bulgarian people and the achievements of socialism.

Comrade soldiers and commanders, workers and military employees, soldiers of the reserve forces!

I greet you most cordially on 1 May, the day of the working people's international solidarity, and wish you health, cheerfulness and new and even greater successes in the socialist competition for increasing the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army. Let the party slogan "Deeds, Deeds and Only Deeds!" turn also into the slogan of implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress in the army. Always be loyal to the party, brave and fearless defenders of our dear motherland--the People's Republic of Bulgaria--and of the cause of socialism and peace.

To mark 1 May, the day of the working people's international soldarity, I order:

Festivities are to take place on 1 May in Sofia, our capital, Plovdiv, Sliven and Varna.

Long live 1 May, the day of the working people's international soldiarity in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism! Long live the BCP, the organizer and all-recognized leader of all our victories! Long live our fraternal friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the Great USSR and the other countries of the socialist community! Long live our dear socialist moterhland--the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

Signed: Amry Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, 30 April 1981

KUBADINSKI CHAIRS FATHERLAND FRONT SESSION

AU051835 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Pencho Kubadinski has chaired a session in Sofia of the operational group attached to the Fatherland Front National Council devoted to coordinating the activity between the public and political organizations with state organs in preparation for and carrying out the 7 June elections. It was reported that 400 candidates for National Assembly deputies have been registered and almost 380,000 citizens are participating in the approximately 73,000 election commissions.

PLO'S QADDUMI MEETS KUBADINSKI; PROTOCOL SIGNED

AU051515 Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 5 May 81

[Excerpt] Sofia, 5 May (BTA)--Yesterday, the P.L.O. delegation headed by Mr Faruq Qaddumi, member of the Executive Committee and Chairman of the Political Department of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which arrived here the other day, had talks with a delegation of the National Council of the Fatherland Front headed by Mr Pencho Kubadinski, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Mr Faruq Qaddumi thanked for the invitation of the the National Council of the Fatherland Front extended to the P.L.O. delegation to visit Bulgaria. He stressed the significance of the permanent and selfless aid rendered by Bulgaria and the other countries of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union to the Palestine resistance movement in their struggle for freedom and independence, in their struggle against Zionism, imperialism and reactionary forces.

Mr Pencho Kubadinski spoke about the active contribution made by the most numerous public and political organization in the country to the carrying out of a principled foreign policy aimed at the maintenance of goodneighbourly relations in the Balkans, at support for the just struggle of national-liberation movements, at the strengthening of peace in the world.

Mr Pencho Kubadinski and Mr Faruq Qaddumi signed a cooperation protocol between the two organizations in the 1981-1982 period.

LEADERS ATTEND PLOVDIV FAIR OPENING 5 MAY

AU051027 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] On 5 May Comrade Grisha Filipov opened the first Plovdiv spring international fair. Together with Comrades Ognyan Doynov; Todor Bozhinov; Andrey Lukanov, Drazha Yulcheva and Kiril Zarev, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; Ivan Panev, BCP Plovdiv Okrug Committee first secretary; and other officials, the guests reviewed the exhibition halls. They were especially cordially greeted in front of the Soviet exhibition pavillion by the members of the Soviet trade-state delegation led by Boris Gordeyev, USSR deputy minister of foreign trade and Nikita Tolubeyev, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria.

ANTIFASCIST COMMITTEE SUPPORTS IRISH PRISONERS

AU041924 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 4 May 81

[Text] Sofia, 4 May (BTA)--The Central Committee of anti-fascist and anti-capitalist fighters have expressed deep anxiety over the life and health of Mr Robert Sands and his comrades who are on hunger strike to obtain the status of political prisoners.

The refusal of the British authorities to grant them the status, has made them face death, reads the declaration submitted here for distribution. We subscribe to the world public opinion and insist that their demands for political prisoners' status be met.

MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY DELCHEV COMMEMORATED

AU041730 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1530 GMT 4 May 81

[Text] Today is the 78th anniversary of the tragic end of Gotse Delchev, organizer and leader of the revolutionary struggles for people's freedom in the Macedonia-Odrin area.

On the occasion a commemorative meeting was held at the central square in Blagoevgrad. It was attended by veterans of the revolutionary movement, by comrades-in-arms of Gotse Delchev, and by numerous citizens. Wreaths and flowers were laid at the hero's monument.

BRIEFS

SOVIET CELEBRATION--On 4 May in Sofia, the day of Soviet press was marked. The event, which took place in Sofia's Soviet Science and Culture Club, was attended by Aleksandur Lilov, Stoyan Mikhaylov and other officials. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 4 May 81 AU]

KUBADINSKI CANDIDACY APPROVED--On 4 May at a meeting of Shumens 389th election district, the candidacy of Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, as a deputy to the Eighth National Assembly was approved. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 4 May 81 AU]

LEADERS ATTEND LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY CEREMONIES

Prague Activities

LD060920 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] To mark the 36th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, a solemn ceremony was held today at the central burial place of honor of the Soviet Army at the Olsany Cemetery in Prague. To the tune of the march of fallen revolutionaries and with military honors accorded, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic; Lubomir Strougal, federal premier; members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Vasil Bilak, Karel Hoffmann, Vaclav Hula, Alois Indra, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kampny and Josef Korcak; Secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee Mikulas Beno, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Josef Havlin and Jindrich Polednik; members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat, Marie Kabrhelova and Oldrich Svestka; and Chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission Miroslav Capka, placed a common wreath at the memorial to the Soviet heroes who fell in the liberation of our homeland on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the president of the republic, the federal government, the federal assembly and the CSSR National Front Central Committee.

Delegations of the Soviet Embassy in Czechoslovakia headed by Ambassador Aleksandr Botvin, and the delegation of the Central Group of Soviet Troops in Czechoslovakia, headed by its commander, Lt Gen Grigoriy Borisov, also laid wreaths. Delegations of the Czech Government, the Czech National Council and the Central Committee of the Czech National Front paid homage to the memory of fallen Red Army soldiers by laying a wreath. Wreaths laid by social organizations of the National Front; guards of honor by the Czechoslovak and Soviet armies; and a guard of honor mounted by Pioneers at 220 graves of the Soviet heroes added to the atmosphere created at this solemn occasion.

The highest party and state representatives of the CSSR, members of the Soviet Embassy in Czechoslovakia, a delegation of the central leadership of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society, representatives of the Soviet Army and the Czechoslovak Armed Forces, party and state bodies of Prague and the Central Bohemian Region and social organizations of the National Front later laid wreaths at the unknown warrior's tomb at the national memorial on Zizkov Hill in Prague.

Bratislava Ceremony

LD060918 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] A solemn wreath-laying ceremony took place at Bratislava's Slavin Cemetery today on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. Before the memorial, which marks the final resting place of 6,800 Soviet soldiers who fell in the liberation of Bratislava and its surroundings, members of the Czechoslovak and Soviet armies and Pioneers formed a guard of honor. Members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and Peter Colotka, Slovak premier; Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Viliam Salgovic; member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council; and other leading representatives laid a common wreath on behalf of the CPSL Central Committee, the Central Committee of the Slovak National Front, the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Government. Representatives of the Soviet General Consulate in Bratislava and of the Soviet military command in Bratislava also paid homage to the memory of Soviet heroes, as did delegations from factories, schools, offices and institutions.

PEZLAR ON SIMILARITIES BETWEEN 1968 EVENTS, POLAND

LD051932 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Bratislava, 5 May (CETEKA)--"The decisive role of the first socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union, in the (?defeat) of Hitlerite Fascism and Japanese militarism has gone down in the history of mankind forever," Ludovit Pezlar, member of the Slovak Communist Party Presidium and Central Committee secretary, said here on Tuesday.

Addressing a rally of the working people of Bratislava and the West Slovak Region on the 36th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation, Ludovit Pezlar stressed that the Soviet Union has been and remains the chief support of all forces fighting for peace and progress in the world.

In another part of his speech, he recalled that the birth of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia 60 years ago was linked up with the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Ludovit Pezlar went on to emphasize the importance of the May 1969 session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, the resolute effort of the new party leadership to overcome the consequences of the activity of right-wing and opportunity forces and to restore the Marxist-Leninist character of the party, and the directive adopted by the session as basis for the construction of advanced socialist society.

Ludovit Pezlar went on to say that "the ambitious tasks set by the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party bind us to make ever broader use, in the interest of a highly intensive and effective development of the whole Czechoslovak society, of the possibilities created by the successful development of Slovakia, by the overcoming of its old economic and cultural backwardness.

"The dynamic development of Slovakia in all respects in the past 36 years after its liberation, and the bridging of the wide gaps between the different regions of our state testify to the correctness of Leninist ideas about the solution of the nationalities issue and to the advantages of the socialist social system," he said.

Speaking about the present situation in Poland, Ludovit Pezlar said that imperialist strategists are interfering ever more into the internal affairs of the country, and by encouraging counter-revolutionary forces they are trying to turn it into a permanent source of tension and de-stabilization of the world socialist system.

The recent assembly of representatives of right-wing opportunism and revisionism at Torun has drawn great attention of the bourgeois press. Their theoretic platform is not new, the Czechoslovak people know it well from the crisis-ridden period. The speeches of several of the participants gave the impression of being copied from their Czechoslovak predecessors. Slovak communists know well the meaning of slogans about "horizontal information" and "horizontal structures" in the party. "Our experience has proved unequivocally that such attacks against the Leninist principle of democratic centralism are designed to disrupt the party."

He voiced the hope that Polish communists and all patriots will recognize this danger posed by the activity of counter-revolutionary forces and repel their attack. In this they can rely on help from Czechoslovak communists and all Czechoslovak people.

"Just as in Czechoslovakia in 1968, it is in evidence in Poland that anti-socialist forces as agents of imperialism can play a significant role in its plans. It is not by chance that any steps against them are followed by imperialist threats of aggression against Cuba and threats to restore cold war. Is there any more convincing proof that the activity of these forces is dangerous to world peace?" Ludovit Pezlar asked.

JONAS RECEIVES POLISH AGRICULTURAL UNION LEADER

AU051034 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Apr 81 p 1

["JEK"-signed report: "Visit From the Polish People's Republic"]

[Text] Prague--On Wednesday, S. Hasiak, chairman of the Central Committee of the Agricultural Workers' Trade Union from the Polish People's Republic, visited P. Jonas, chairman of the Central Committee of the Union of Cooperative Farmers, who briefed him on the Czechoslovak agricultural cooperatives' further development after the 16th CPCZ Congress. The same day S. Hasiak, accompanied by P. Jonas, paid a visit to the united cooperative farm of Czechoslovak-Polish friendship in Struharov in Benesov District, where he acquainted himself with the cooperative farm's work results.

ADDITIONS TO JOZEF LENART MAY DAY SPEECH

The following additions to the item entitled "Leaders, People Join in May Day Observances" and subtitled "Lenart Bratislava Address," published in the 4 May Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, pages D 6-9, were taken from Bratislava PRAVDA of 4 May.

On page D 7, insert the following passage between the second and third paragraphs:

"Esteemed comrades, dear fellow citizens, dear young friends!

"The glorious day that is so close and dear to us has come again. We have gone out into the streets to demonstrate our solidarity with working people all over the world, to manifest our will and determination to build and beautify our socialist homeland.

"Allow me to greet you all sincerely on behalf of the party leadership, the Slovak National Council, the government and the National Front, and to congratulate you on this revolutionary holiday--May Day.

"What we are intrinsically thinking about today, what we are emphasizing as the highest value and one of the fundamental human rights, is the opportunity to work in freedom, live in peace and enjoy the fruits of our work. Precisely this urgent need and innermost longing of millions of people, all of mankind, resounded anew with unusual forcefulness at the recent 26th Congress of Soviet Communists and our 16th CPCZ Congress.

"Yes, dear friends, the situation is really as described by Comrade Brezhnev at the CPSU Congress--the main and crucial thing that has been achieved in the past years, in defiance of the imperialists' dangerous plans, has been the preservation of peace!

"And we know that this accomplishment, the fact that mankind is living in peace, is primarily due to the Soviet Union, its Leninist party and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev personally. It would be unthinkable to ensure long-term peace were it not for the CPSU's revolutionary dedication and the great historical successes of the land of the soviets.

"That is why we have been traditionally sending the first, most sincere and warmest greeting from our rallies on this great holiday to the people of the Soviet Union, our liberator and guarantor of our socialist homeland's life in peace, security and advancement.

"We wish Soviet communists and all Soviet people new great successes in implementing the bold targets set by the 26th congress.

"Comrades!

"We are convincing ourselves that the struggle for maintaining and consolidating peace is becoming increasingly more difficult and persistent. Reactionary imperialist circles are opposed to the policy of detente and would like to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist world. That is why they are stepping up their feverish pursuit of armaments and deceiving the public, spreading illusions about the possibility of so-called limited nuclear warfare.

"The line aimed at increasing arms is being justified with fabrications about some sort of a Soviet threat in Europe, Asia or even America. However, the source of the danger of war is not the Soviet Union but the arms race, which imperialists are driving to extremes, in pursuit of their profiteering. That is why Comrade Brezhnev declared again at the 26th congress that the main direction of the Soviet Union's foreign policy is the struggle to avert the danger of war, to limit armament. With this objective in mind, it proposes negotiations on limiting any type of weapon and on reducing weaponry while maintaining military parity.

"The nations are thus able to convince themselves anew that while the most aggressive imperialist circles would like to thwart everything positive that has been achieved, the Soviet Union--due to its peace initiative--is opening for mankind the path of averting war and intensifying detente.

"Imperialism views the feverish pursuit of arms at the same time as a way out of the capitalist system's difficulties and as an instrument of hampering the advancement of socialism, of obliterating its historical merits before the eyes of the world. However, imperialism will not and cannot succeed in this.

"In the face of the acute crisis of the capitalist economy, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are presenting themselves as a stable and progressive economic force in the world. That is also demonstrated by the fact that in the last 20 years industrial production in the socialist countries has been growing twice as fast as in the countries of Western Europe. Whereas in the socialist countries the number of employed persons has increased 80 percent in those two decades, and these countries feel a shortage of manpower, in the countries of the European Economic Community the army of unemployed has increased more than threefold during that period and is made up in the advanced capitalist countries of more than 20 million people.

"Aware that the socialist countries' share in ensuring peace is growing simultaneously with the enhancement of their authority in the world, we will strengthen the socialist community's unity and continue to contribute to multiplying its strength and cohension. From our rally, we send militant greetings to the working people in the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Mongolian People's Republic. We also express our class sympathy with those forces in the Polish People's Republic that are loyal and dedicated to socialism.

"We greet the heroic people of Cuba and assure them of our unwavering support. We greet the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and the people of Afghanistan and wish them success in defending and developing their revolutionary gains.

"The role of developing countries in the struggle for peace, against war and aggression, against exploitation and for a better life is growing.

"We wholeheartedly greet and express our solidarity especially with the people of Angola and Ethiopia, the patriots of Nicaragua and El Salvador and others.

"We greet our class brothers, revolutionary and democratic forces in Western capitalist countries, and wish them successes in the struggle against imperialism's war plans and for social progress.

"Esteemed friends, this May, 60 years will have passed since the establishment of the revolutionary guide of our people, their own CPCZ. Yes, six decades have already passed since class-conscious workers in our country--disappointed by the betrayal of rightwing leaders of socialist democracy and inspired by the example set by Russian workers and peasants--set up their revolutionary vanguard, their political party. They were building, consolidating and cementing the party in a Leninist spirit, to make it a powerful weapon in the struggle for bread, jobs, freedom, and a better and more equitable life. And the Communist Party has honorably fulfilled its mission. It stood undaunted at the head of the working people's struggle against capitalism, fascism and for national and social liberation. In this struggle it earned the exploiters' hatred and anger, but also the trust and love of the broad strata.

"More than once it had to undergo degradation and persecution before it led the people to the Glorious February victory. It had to overcome considerable difficulties to make socialism prevail in our country, to come to terms with counterrevolution and its consequences. Our Communist Party's path has not been easy. However, it has been and is a victorious path, also thanks to our party's Leninist leaders, like Comrade Klement Gottwald and Comrade Gustav Husak. Under their leadership, the party was and is fulfilling its revolutionary mission, faithfully and selflessly serving our working people, our nations and nationalities. This path was and is successful because the party has been marching under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

"And that is why on this festive day, our equally sincere greetings go to the CPCZ, which is celebrating its jubilee. It has proved to be a wise guide for the people that leads us confidently in building an advanced socialist society.

"We cordially greet the founding members of the party, the veterans of class struggle, and the heroes of antifascist resistance. We greet all patriots who have contributed so that the revolutionary dreams and longings of many generations are being implemented in the socialist present.

"Esteemed comrades, we are attending..."

Page D 8, first paragraph, first sentence, for indistinct words, insert "the Bez and Tesla enterprises."

Same page, fifth paragraph, last sentence, change the names "(Smejkal)" to "Kmet" and "(Skala)" to "Sala."

On page D 9, after the last sentence, insert the following closing passage:

"Long live the Soviet Union, our most faithful friend! May the Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation continue to grow in strength and comprehensively develop!

"May peace be strengthened and prevail!

"Long live the glorious May Day!"

COMMENT ON FRG VOICES AGAINST NATO MISSILE DECISION

DW051207 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1711 GMT 4 May 81

[Albert Reisz weekly review: "The World Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] Good evening, esteemed listeners. The NATO foreign ministers have opened a meeting in Rome today which is supposed to last until tomorrow. If one bears in mind how frequently Western politicians and publicists have written or said that the Americans would come to Rome with a date for negotiations [on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe] in mind, it appears as if they are trying to reassure themselves or provide a straw to grasp at. Two American papers have claimed to know that there is a provisional decision by Washington on this subject.

Well, dear listeners, if something comes up we will have to see what it is. However, this expectation that has been voiced somewhat vehemently by some Western governments expresses the expectation of the whole world public. It is time, high time, for NATO to comment on very urgent current problems. Not in the form of window dressing, but comment on the substance--which consists of NATO's 12 December 1979 decision on missiles.

Some suggestions have been made by socialist countries and particularly by the Soviet Union for overcoming the deadlock. And there has been more than just suggestions. It may be called for to recall now and again that the Soviet Union has made one-sided material advance concessions for detente without anybody having asked for them. Leonid Brezhnev announced on 6 October 1979 in Berlin that the Soviet Union would withdraw 20,000 men and 1,000 tanks from the territory of the GDR. That has been done. It has remained up to this day a concession made in advance because NATO has not done anything comparable, it has done nothing at all that could have served detente. Two months after Brezhnev's speech the NATO governments decided to produce nuclear medium-range missiles and to station them in Western Europe.

All this is just a reminder. Let us now discuss the suggestions. Leonid Brezhnev suggested a moratorium on medium-range missiles at the 26th CPSU Congress. In other words: The current state is to be frozen. That would be a material and arithmetic starting point for negotiations, it would be a measure that could be implemented without great complications.

It is incomprehensible why there are some in the West who say no, or who hesitate to say yes. The Social Democrats of the Netherlands, for example, do not hesitate. They do not want to have nuclear missiles in the Netherlands. Some 51 cergymen objected in an open letter in Essen to the missile decision. The 27 highest dignitaries of the Anglican Church of the United States have supported the ratification and quantification of the SALT treaty. This list could be continued.

I cite the examples because we are dealing with the rather remarkable phenomenon that those who engage themselves in this or that form against armament with missiles are hardly impressed today by the chimera of an alleged military threat emanating from the Soviet Union. They are also not impressed by the fact that one tries--such as in the FRG, for example--to keep them from taking concrete political action by making the Krefeld appeal appear to be a communist-triggered action [words indistinct] convinced social democrats or members of bourgeois parties are not afraid to suggest that the moratorium suggested by the known communist Leonid Brezhnev be accepted because it represents a suitable basis for negotiations. This was at least decided last week by the Federal Executive Board of the Young Socialists of the FRG. In formulating the statement in this way, some of its members possibly had in mind that this idea had been originally voiced by FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Maybe they have asked themselves why it should have become worse because it had been taken up (?first) by Brezhnev.

Dear listeners, for the sake of being complete or almost complete, one must point to the SPD Land congress in Baden-Wuerttemberg. The federal SPD congress which will take place next year has been urged to examine the approach of the party to NATO's missile decision and the necessity to revise it. It has also been demanded that immediate and concrete disarmament negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union be initiated without preconditions. So the chairman of the Young Socialists, Willi Piecyk, was right in saying that the internal party discussion was being conducted by people other than just the Young Socialists. I quote his opinion: We consider the stationing of additional nuclear medium-range missiles on the territory of the Federal Republic as politically wrong and even from NATO's military points of view as superfluous. End of quotation.

Actually one ought to consider the following: All these parties, organizations, communities and (?individual) personalities--I have cited just a small fraction of it--are not communists, not politically engaged persons who want to do something for the sake of the Warsaw Pact. They stand on the ground of the West, on the ground of NATO and they stress their position. If they believed that the West were being threatened militarily by the Soviet Union they would not make the statements they are making now. They are simply concerned about peace and--we can be convinced of it--they would much rather support American than Soviet disarmament and detente suggestions. But no American suggestions of this kind exist.

Other factors, too, lead to this approach. There is, for example, the fact that stocking-up on nuclear arms works faster than the efforts to curtail nuclear armament. Then there is the fact that no political will to negotiate is recognizable on the part of the Reagan administration. And then we would point out that NATO's missile decision is a dual decision. In other words, it envisages the production of American medium-range missiles and their stationing in Western Europe, but also negotiations with the Soviet Union. The United States, however, accepts only the armament component; it does not think much of the negotiation component. This is at stake at the foreign ministers' meeting in Rome.

No doubts exist at all that some countries are urging the United States to take up negotiations. The confrontation course brought only disadvantages for the European NATO countries. The missile decision will not be all. The United States demands from its partners more and more financial contributions, and the conservative Washington administration shows no understanding at all for the fact that broad circles in Western Europe are not prepared to follow the American example and implement cuts in social benefits, the health service and the education system.

It begins with the fact that trade unions in capitalist Europe maintain a completely different attitude than trade unions in the United States. It is absolutely obvious that some NATO partners of the United States feel horrified about where the current Washington policy could lead them.

I think that the article by Prof Georgiy Arbatov, director of the American Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and member of the CPSU Central Committee, published today in PRAVDA, will find attentive readers. Here are a few ideas from the article. He points out that most observers agree that the United States has no cohesive foreign policy even today. But, writes Arbatov, there is no lack of words and rhetoric. But can rhetoric and words be considered policy? Yes, in a certain way.

The tones from Washington are almost unequivocal. They indicate the desire to lead relations with the USSR and other socialist countries on the path of confrontation and violence. A not at all smaller reality is the fact that intentions and wishes do not amount to politics. Politics was and is the art of the possible.

Those who maintain that the confrontation course of the United States is just a digression are asked by the author how long this digression will last and what price will have to be paid for it, and not only by the Americans. Arbatov writes that under certain conditions words and rhetoric can express not merely intentions but can become a policy in itself. If the secretary of state as well as the secretary of defense and sometimes even the president himself become involved in the campaign of senseless inventions, accusations and threats against the Soviet Union, it is not merely an outburst of emotions. Behind these outbursts a certain intention is taking shape, namely, to heat up the atmosphere in order to break resistance in their own country and in allied countries against every attempt to return to cold war and to find a pretext for turning down negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Dear listeners, some of this analysis is shared by Western politicians. Maybe they recall that General de Gaulle at one time justified France's leaving the military organization of NATO by saying that he did not want his country to become involved in conflicts with which it had nothing to do. At any rate, such considerations probably prompted Western governments to press the United States now to negotiate. We shall see what will come of it, maybe as soon as tomorrow. Good evening until you hear from me again.

VERNER SPEAKS AT HALLE SED BEZIRK EXECUTIVE MEETING

LD050210 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1513 GMT 4 May 81

[Text] Halle, 4 May (ADN)--The Halle SED bezirk executive held its second meeting on Monday and elected Hans-Joachim Boehme first secretary of the executive. Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee, was previously second secretary of the area executive.

Paul Verner, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, addressed warm words of thanks on behalf of General Secretary of the SED Central Committee Erich Honecker to Werner Felfe who, in connection with his election at the 10th SED Congress as secretary of the SED Central Committee, is relinquishing his post as head of the Halle party organization. Verner also wished the newly-elected first secretary of the bezirk executive success in implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress.

Walter Kitzing, member of the bezirk executive and previously first secretary of the SED District Executive of the Buna chemical works, was elected second secretary.

DPRK'S KIM HWAN ADDRESSES 10TH SED CONGRESS

AU051425 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Apr 81 p 12

[Speech by Kim Hwan, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Korean Workers Party (KWP), at the 10th SED Congress in East Berlin on 13 April 1981]

[Text] Dear comrades, on behalf of the KWP Central Committee I most cordially greet the 10th SED Congress. (strong applause) Permit me at the same time to convey to the delegates of your party congress, and through you to all SED members and the GDR people, the most ardent fraternal greetings of the members of our party and of our people. (strong applause)

As participants of your party congress we have heard with great interest the report of the esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker, and thus have been able to inform ourselves even better about your party's foreign political and domestic political activity, about the GDR people's great successes and about your country's development prospects.

The 10th SED Congress is of great importance for the consolidation and development of your party, for the GDR people's struggle for peace, socialism and communism. We hope your party congress comprehensively discusses the questions on its agenda in line with the expectations of your people, and that it will be successfully implemented.

The German communists and the German people have waged a long and courageous struggle against imperialism and fascism and they eventually won the historic victory establishing the first worker-peasant state on German soil. (strong applause) The establishment of a peace-loving socialist state in one part of Germany was not only in line with the interests of the German people but at the same time it was an important factor for the maintenance of peace in Europe and for strengthening the forces of socialism in the world.

After the founding of the GDR its people, warding off the incessant diversive and subversive machinations of the imperialists and of all class enemies, have turned their country into a socialist state with a developed industry and agriculture, and have increased its international prestige. Today the fraternal GDR people, led by the SED with the esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker at its head, stand firmly at the Western outpost of socialism, resolutely defend its power and borders and purposefully continue the building of socialism. (strong applause)

Especially in the most recent past your country's working people, who have started an active competition movement in order to celebrate the 10th party congress with great political verve and great working successes and who have successfully fulfilled the tasks adopted by the ninth party congress, have further improved the appearance of your country, and have scored great progress in raising the material and cultural well-being of the people. Our party and our people highly value the successes you have accomplished. We are as sincerely pleased with your successes as if they were our own, and most cordially congratulate you on them. (strong applause) We wish you with all our hearts further, still greater successes in fulfilling your party congress decisions, in the struggle for the establishment of the developed socialist society. (strong applause)

Comrades, under the difficult and complicated conditions of northeast Asia, where the imperialists pursue an intensified policy of aggression and interference, the KWP and the Korean people are struggling to achieve the building of socialism and the sovereign peaceful reunification of the fatherland. Under the wise leadership of our esteemed and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song, firmly rallied around the center of the party through the unity of our idea and our determination, all members of our party and the working people are at present advancing under the banner of the chuche ideology with the three revolutions--the ideological, the technical, and the cultural revolution--and are scoring new advances and successes every day in all fields in order to fulfill the decisions of the sixth party congress.

However, as a result of the splitting and war policy of the Reagan administration in the United States and the military-fascist Chon Tu-hwan clique in South Korea there continue to be great obstacles on the road to our country's unification, and peace on the Korean peninsula is seriously threatened. To push back the external forces and to reunify the divided fatherland--that is our people's most urgent task. Only when Korea is reunified can the misery and suffering to which our people are exposed as a result of the split be overcome, can a hotbed of conflict in Asia be eliminated, can peace and security in this region be maintained and consolidated. If the entire people in the north and in the south firmly unite under the banner of reunification and wage a determined struggle for the new proposals of our beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song for establishing a democratic confederative republic of Korea, the machinations of the internal and external splittists will be smashed, and the great cause of the country's reunification will eventually be achieved. (applause)

Let me avail myself of this opportunity to convey to the SED and the GDR people heartfelt thanks for their consistent, active support for the just cause of our people. (strong applause) As close class brothers the KWP and the SED, the Korean people and the GDR people have long been linked by firm bonds of friendship, and stand firmly at the eastern and western outposts of socialism, and support and inspire one another in the interest of the joint goals and ideals.

The friendship and affinity of our two parties and peoples have been strengthened and raised onto a new, higher level by the historic meetings between our people's beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song and esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker. We feel satisfaction over the daily better developing relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties and peoples, and we will continue to endeavor to constantly strengthen and develop them in the interest of our two peoples, in the interest of the common great cause of socialism-communism. (strong applause). To strengthen the cohesion of the international revolutionary forces in the face of the aggressive machinations of the coalition of world imperialism--therein lies the unshakable revolutionary standpoint that is consistently represented by our party.

As in the past our party and our people will also in future, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, under the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism and independence, join forces with the other socialist countries, with the communist and workers parties, with the nonaligned countries, with the national liberation movements of the colonies, with all progressive forces in the world, in the struggle against imperialism, for the cause of victory of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism. (strong applause)

Long live the perpetual and indestructible friendship and affinity between the KWP and the SED, between the Korean people and the GDR people! (long-lasting, strong applause. The delegates and guests stand up)

FOREIGN MINISTER FISCHER ARRIVES IN SWEDEN

For reportage on Foreign Minister Fischer's visit to Stockholm and his meetings with Swedish Foreign Minister Ola Ullsten, see the Nordic Affairs section of the 5 May Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

BRIEFS

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION RESULTS--Lothar Lindner, chairman of the industrial trade union for construction and woodworkers, has announced in Berlin that the GDR construction sector during the first 4 months of this year newly built and modernized more than 42,000 apartments, thus scoring clearly better results than during the same period of last year. Further, short-range plans provide for extending the plan lead to 2 days by August and to 3 days by the end of the year. [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0505 GMT 4 May 81 DW]

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES--The GDR Academy of Sciences, the GDR's biggest scientific institution, comprises 44 central institutes and other facilities. Its personnel totals 22,000. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1738 GMT 1 May 81 DW]

BERECZ DISCUSSES REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY, POLAND

LD011823 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 1 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 1 May (MTI)--"In our age revolutionary strategy rests on two pillars inseparable from each other: it signifies a struggle for social progress and for peace," writes Janos Berecz, head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee, in an article in the May 1, festive issue of NEPSZABADSAG, analysing the present world situation and the international class struggle of workers. In the following Janos Berecz points out that the fight for peace has received special significance since nuclear weapons have come into existence, with which weapons humanity can annihilate its civilization.

Speaking of the forces throughout the world fighting for social progress the author of the article emphasizes that the peoples of the socialist countries have solidarity with these forces, that "their solidarity is just as natural as the fact that they do everything in the interest of safeguarding peace."

In connection with the conditions of safeguarding peace which have become more difficult Janos Berecz recalls: "The tendency for seeking the way out of the crisis of their own system by sharpening the international situation, primarily by increasing the armaments race, has strengthened in the leading circles of a few capitalist powers...Their hardly concealed aim is to upset the historically developed equilibrium of forces, to establish the superiority of force. That is why they unilaterally declare carefully worked out, signed agreements to be invalid. That is why they delay talks on the most important questions, although the time factor in arms restriction plays a much more important role today than at any time before. And in the meantime, even those whose activity increases tension and war danger try to avert responsibility from themselves, try to operate with peace slogans."

The author then states that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries "do not reply to words and actions increasing tension in a similar way. Their conduct, even amidst the most complicated relations, is characterized by principled consistency and at the same time by the effort for reaching agreements based on constructive intentions, the wish for peace, openness, the readiness for negotiations, taking into consideration realities." "This attitude and this policy is a factor of easing international tension, and it is certain that without it the world situation would be incomparably more explosive."

Evaluating the peace proposals set forth at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, Janos Berecz states:

"This attests that the Soviet Union, which guards over its own security and that of its allies, is the support of peoples fighting for progress and at the same time the committed defender of world peace. There is no single question, be it either the strategical weapons or the medium-range nuclear missiles, or Europe, the Near, the Middle or the Far East, in connection with which the Soviet Union is not ready to peacefully solve the debated questions--on the basis of equality and equal security--through negotiations... Now it is the turn of the West, the NATO countries for giving answers to the proposals. There is need for constructive replies of merit which promote progress."

"The peace-loving forces of the world who feel responsibility for the fate of existing socialism, today look with anxiety at Poland, where the crisis which erupted last summer has not ended. The exceptional complexity of events there is obvious, and this is reflected in the contradictory evaluations as well. The final assessment can be made only depending on the further development of the events, but a few conclusions can already be drawn.

"In the light of the Polish situation the necessity of the constant, thorough and self-critical examination of the economic political processes taking place in the course of building socialism, drawing the appropriate conclusions, furthermore the necessity of actions reckoning with the demands of reality and free of delay, has become even clearer. A similarly vital task is to turn the need aimed at change into a creative channel, to check the essentially destructive endeavours which negate everything in the guise of high-sounding slogans, which reject the socialist perspective. Besides all these, the events in Poland repeatedly recall that long ago chrystalized, but at times forgotten lesson of the international communist movement that at the time of the fight for socialism and in the course of building socialism the dual delimitation is necessary. We have to delimit ourselves from that subjective voluntarism in economic policy and in politics in general, which underrates the political work to be realized among the masses, and plays down the unfavourable occurrences. On the other hand, anto-revolutionary reformism, endangering the people's power, which under the pretext of serious errors undermines the foundations of socialism, has to be rejected."

Janos Berecz goes on to state:

"The HSWP continues to be at solidarity with every such effort and step of Polish communists which is aimed at safeguarding the socialist state, stabilizing the social-economic situation and strengthening the party on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism," ends the part of the article dealing with Poland.

In connection with the domestic situation Janos Berecz writes that "we know we still have to master many complicated problems, but we have confidence in the creative force of the working people consciously identifying itself with the cause of socialism." "Our domestic political situation is firm, the socialist features of our social order are strengthening, the realition between the party and the masses is characterized by mutual confidence," ends the article by Janos Berecz in NEPSZABADSAG.

MIHALY KOROM INTERVIEWED ON SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

LD011900 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 1 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 1 May (MTI)--"The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party is making great efforts to strike harmony between the organization and activity of our socialist state and the tasks society faces", said Mihaly Korom, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the CC, in an interview with NEPSZABADSAG. The May 1 special editions of the daily carry the interview.

Speaking about the growing (?social importance) of the state Mihaly Korom says that "it is not more frequent and free application of administrative measures and procedures that are to be understood under strengthening of the state but more effective organization, and an independent style of arranging things at the state institutions.

"It is, however, inseparable from the above that the socialist state will invariably continue to take consistent action against all forms of infringement of constitutional order, will see to it that everyone (?abides) by the laws which express the interests of the whole people and that every citizen is ensured due protection", stressed Mihaly Korom.

Speaking about parliamentary control of state administration, he said-"the real function of interpellations should be enforced more powerfully. The MP's should be more specific about pointing out the shortcomings of enforcement of the laws. The control function of the standing committees of parliament must be reinforced, and these should be more critical when evaluating the situation in certain industries or controlling compliance with the legal regulations.

"Our election system fundamentally promotes our social-political goals, still we are contemplating to improve it further. The most important question we have to seek an answer to is how our election system could help better to expose and conciliate the different interests present in society. The answer may involve modification of certain elements of the election system, e.g. an eventual complementation of the regional election principle or modification of the rules of nomination. We shall most probably progress in the controversial issue of double or multiple nomination, explained Mihaly Korom.

In the closing part of his interview Mihaly Korom called social democracy the most effective "medicine" against bureaucracy. "Our party seeks to widen the circle of people involved in public life, to make every honest citizen participant in the guidance of the society. It is not sufficient to express the mere desire to improve democraticism. The decisive and control function of the people's representation organs must be strengthened. The attitude of the state office-holders is also very significant in this context. One has to stand up against the abuses of office. A machinery with politically and professionally well-trained staffs can speed up the arrangement of the affairs of citizens. The spread of the modern administration-technical devices facilitates the work of administration officials. Naturally the machines cannot replace helpful, obliging executives who can identify with the problems of their clients."

"The power of the workers class, the working people is solid in Hungary. Some of the credit for this goes to the workers of our socialist state, public administration. They make great efforts to raise to the requirements of their mission. They support the policy of our party, have confidence in it and promote its practical realization. Through their activity they strengthen the relations of the socialist state and the working people. This is one of the goals of the development of state life, state work. But also the token thereof", stressed in conclusion Mihaly Korom.

CHNOUPEK, PUJA HOLD TALK ON WORLD SITUATION

LD060834 Prague CTK in English 1725 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 5 May (CETEKA correspondent)- Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and his Hungarian counterpart Frigyes Puja discussed the international situation and exchanged views on topical problems of international relations at their final meeting in Salgotarjan, northern Hungary, on Tuesday.

Both ministers fully agreed that the complex of the new Soviet peace initiatives put forward by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union provides the best reply to all key problems of the international life.

They welcomed the Soviet Union's effort for resuming a productive dialogue with the U.S., including meetings at summit level, the proposal to discuss medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, and other proposals, they consider them as an important impulse for achieving positive results at the Madrid meeting in the interest of implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. A decision to call a conference on military relaxation and disarmament in Europe would be the greatest success.

The foreign ministers also fully agreed that the new Soviet proposals aim at further positive measures in international life, including peaceful and just settlement in hotbeds of tension in the world.

Bohulsav Chnoupek and Frigyes Puja spoke in favour of further intensification of the joint effort of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, in close coordination and firm international alliance with the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries, to strengthen peace, international security, relaxation and its extension to the military sphere.

PZPR POLITBURO SESSION ON CONGRESS PREPARATIONS

LD051838 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 May 81

[Jerzy Malczynski report]

[Text] The PZPR Politburo held a session for the first time today in its new composition, which was changed at the 10th Central Committee Plenum. Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, informed journalists about the session proceedings. The main topics were connected with the decisions of the 10th Central Committee Plenum and dealt with practical preparations for the extraordinary party congress which will be held from 14-18 July.

In the period preceding the congress the most important tasks are the strengthening of the party's cohesion and its ability to act. The election campaign is approaching the halfway mark. In many voivodships it will be possible to convene voivodship conferences in May and at the beginning of June. There are still 69 days to go until the congress. It will be necessary to accelerate activities in those organizations in which the election campaign is not so far advanced. Preliminary reports indicate that the democratic mechanisms contained in the party statute are being strictly observed everywhere that elections are taking place. The meetings and conferences are accompanied by an atmosphere of great seriousness and a sense of responsibility.

In his remarks on this topic to journalists, Comrade Barcikowski even used the term "revindication of democracy." Fairly substantial changes in the leaderships of various organizations are typical of the elections held so far. The age of the elected party officials is considerably lower than in the past. The technical intelligentsia is dominant in production spheres and in the composition of executive bodies and committees. The demand concerning the increase in the representation of workers in elected party authorities is being implemented only sporadically. This demand was raised previously on a widespread scale in the discussions. In addition, there are not many workers among the delegates elected by certain organizations at industrial factories.

Generally, persons who are politically mature and who have had many years of experience in party activities are being elected to first secretarial positions. It is not orators and the most active speakers at meetings but comrades who have an established position at enterprises--(?valued) specialists and people with long-standing prestige in their particular area--who are getting the most votes. This is undoubtedly a positive phenomenon in the current campaign.

The issue of workers' representation in party authorities at various levels, however, requires some consideration. The number of workers among delegates already elected to the congress is also minimal [words indsitinct] the precongress discussion has already been going on for several months. In the past few days it has entered a new stage as a result of the decisions of the 10th plenum, that is, the fixing of the date of the congress and the adoption of fundamental documents. They will be published this week and will be distributed for broad discussion throughout the party.

The party wants to invite to this debate all social forces through the organization of local meetings. Many discussions and conferences will also be attended by members of the party's central leadership. Conclusions from these debates will be collected, as in the first stage of the discussion, mainly by the congress commissions of various levels, starting with factories, through voivodships, and right up to the central echelon.

Under the next item on the agenda the Politburo issued instructions for the preparation of materials and publications related to the congress. A decision was also made to instruct the commission evaluating the progress and acceleration of work concerning the personal responsibility of PZPR members occupying leading posts to present its conclusions in time for the congress to be informed at its opening of the debate on the completion of the squaring of accounts. In this connection the Politburo has given the commission wide powers.

Under the last item on the agenda the Politburo dealt with organizational and economic matters connected with the preparations for the congress. The time table for activities of the party leadership includes a meeting of the Central Committee leadership with secretaries of factory committees in 204 large industrial organizations before 15 May. The meeting will discuss congress materials and the course of the election campaign. The Congress Commission will also meet this month with the participation of chairmen of voivodship commissions. The subject of the meeting will be the initial assessments of the debate on the party program and draft changes in the statute and the collection of materials for future draft resolution as well as the collection of submitted motions.

Barcikowski Meets Press

LD060926 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 May (PAP)--The PUWP Political Bureau today reviewed issues stemming from the 10th PUWP CC Plenary meeting and preparations for the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

The hitherto results of elections of delegates within the precongress campaign make it possible to draw some general conclusions. Authorities of PUWP organizations are being considerably rejuvenated. However, the motto 'workers to the authorities' is not being implemented to the desirable extent. Representatives of the young technical intelligentsia prevail among the newly elected PUWP authorities in factories which is detrimental to the postulated increase in workers' representation, member of the Political Bureau Kazimierz Barcikowski told the press after the meeting.

The precongress discussion reflects a creative atmosphere in the party. Drafts of programmatic assumptions for the development of socialist democracy, of consolidating the PUWP's leading role in socialist building, stabilizing Poland's socioeconomic situation and of amendments to the PUWP statute will be published soon. Already in mid-May, the PUWP CC leadership plans to meet first secretaries of works' committees of the 204 biggest PUWP factory organizations to seek their opinion on the precongress documents.

A commission to assess the hitherto course and to speed up the work connected with examining personal responsibility of PUWP CC members holding top posts headed by Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Tadeusz Grabski was set up at the 10th plenum. The commission is to end its work and present its findings before the beginning of the congress. The Political Bureau gave it broad powers, Barcikowski said.

In connection with changes in the Political Bureau, the duties were divided differently among its members. Barcikowski said that the new CC Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak took over administrative issues from him and that apart from matters of culture, alternate member of the Political Bureau and CC Secretary Jerzy Waszczuk will deal with foreign affairs. The new Political Bureau members Gerard Gabrys and Zygmunt Wronski were not entrusted with any new tasks in the CC.

Further Barcikowski Comments

LD060522 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 5 May 81

[Excerpts] The party Central Committee Politburo met in Warsaw yesterday [5 May] and discussed the preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR and the strengthening of the unity and activities of the party on the basis of the decisions of the 10th Central Committee Plenum. Kazimierz Barcikowski informed journalists that the first voivodship conference would take place in May and in the beginning of June.

Answering questions from reporters, Kazimierz Barcikowski said that the party's stance on the so-called horizontal structure of the party was determined at the 10th Central Committee Plenum.

He also expressed the conviction that there is going to be a fundamental discussion between the party and Solidarity with a positive attitude being adopted toward the declaration on coresponsibility in resolving the country's socioeconomic problems.

LEADERS, OTHERS ATTEND LOCAL PARTY CONFERENCES

Kania at Plock Combine

LD061110 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] A Mazowsze refinery and petrochemical plant party branch program and election conference opened in Plock today. The conference is being attended by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who is also a member of the party organization at the combine's catalictic process plant. The party organization at the Plock petrochemical combine numbers approximately 1,300 members, and they are being represented at the conference by 134 delegates.

Olszowski at Cooperative

LD051950 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] The proposals at meetings of party organizations in general concur with the tone of speeches at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and testify to the desire to profoundly analyze the reasons for the difficulties and to define ways of overcoming them.

The report-and-election meeting of the primary party organization at the Main Board of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Workers' Publishing Cooperative was attended by Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

The discussions referred to proposals made at the previous meeting. Statements were made as to how one can and must meet halfway social expectations in the present conditions by streamlining the functions of the workers' publishing cooperative.

Babiuch Self-Criticism

LD060854 Warsaw PAP in English 0807 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 May (PAP)--Addressing a report-and-election meeting of the party unit at a rolling stock refitting plant in Minsk Mazowiecki near Warsaw, of which he has been member for many years, former member of the PUWP Political Bureau Edward Babiuch, who acted as Poland's premier from February to August 1980, admitted he feels responsible for a whole range of errors in intraparty and economic activity but asked not to be stripped of party membership.

He said he had failed to perceive in time and foresee the effects of the hardships which started to snowball in this country's economy. He also declared that people holding highest posts, himself included, should answer for erroneous decisions in politics and economy.

Voivodship Precongress Debates

LD060854 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Preparations for the Ninth PZPR Congress are continuing. Decisions concerning the precongress debate, convening the congress and electing delegates, constitute a new essential accent in these preparations.

At meetings of party organizations in the Sieradz Voivodship, attention is being drawn to the need for the creating conditions and action programs which will encourage party members to become more active and to show initiative.

The precongress debate among party members of the Leszno Voivodship yielded a number of proposals pertaining to setting up a system of guarantees to protect against a repetition of distortions and errors.

At meetings and conferences in the Kalisz Voivodship, discussion was mainly devoted to improving the dissemination of information. Stress was also laid on the need to divide executive and legislative power. It was also underlined that members of the party establishment should belong to party organizations in enterprises.

WARSAW PRESS CONFERENCE ON RESULTS OF PZPR PLENUM

LD060006 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 May (PAP)--Problems of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum were the theme of a press conference organized today at the PZPR Central Committee Press Center for representatives of the press, radio and television of the socialist countries. The results of the 10th plenum were presented by Z. Kurowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

There are 69 days remaining before the beginning of the ninth congress, he said. During this period one should prepare for the congress in such a way that the hopes connected with it come true. One should expect that the congress will accelerate the exit from the crisis, will strengthen confidence in the party, and will create the appropriate climate from the people's creative work.

The directions of the proposed changes in the charter were presented by R. Lukasiwicz, deputy head of the Organization Department of the PZPR Central Committee.

At the conference which was chaired by J. Klasa, the head of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PZPR Central Committee, a number of questions were asked regarding topical party problems, particularly the so-called horizontal structures, and also the assessment of progress in the report-back and election campaign.

POZNAN CONFERENCE VIEWS PZPR 10TH PLENUM RESULTS

LD051844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Our Poznan correspondent reports that the meeting of the Presidium of the Political Thought Forum which is taking place here discussed the results of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It was said that the demands which are being put forward on a widespread scale by primary party links and which relate, among other things, to the work done by the supreme party authorities, are still not being taken into account. The principles, based on law and concerning the public nature of party life, are being broken and there is a lack of honest intraparty information. Those taking part in the Poznan Political Thought Forum also said the strenuous work being done on the renewal of the party is wasting the energy of its members and stressed the need to work out a program for the party for the future.

PROGRESS IN MEETING DEMANDS OF PARTY MASSES NOTED

LD052036 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2700 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] The progress of the party electoral campaign, the results of party control activities and the reports on the implementation of the community's demands were the subject of today's Torun Voivodship Party Committee Plenum.

The debate at the plenum, which was chaired by Zygmunt Najdowski, first secretary of the voivodship party committee, concerned the character, the place and the role of the practical functions of the party in our country based on the attitudes expressed by the voivodship congress commission. The positions of the voivodship congress commission have been worked out since the beginning of November of last year together with members of the consultative and liaison commission of party organizations in Torun. These positions were the subject of consultations with primary party organizations before they were presented to the voivodship party committee plenum.

Regarding the preparations for the Ninth PZPR Congress it was stated at the plenum that new versions of the party statute are getting closer and closer to the expectations and demands of the broad party masses. At the same time warnings were issued at the plenum that there must be no limitations on the functions of the elected party organs or on their right to make decisions. They must not be deprived of the (?cohesion) and (?effectiveness) of their action.

PARTY ORGANIZATION SECRETARIES HOLD GDANSK MEETING

LD051210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 5 May 81

[Correspondent's report from Gdansk]

[Text] The second consultative meeting of party organization secretaries has been held at the Gdansk technical university on current party problems. The meeting was attended by representatives of party organizations from 36 work enterprises in Gdansk Voivodship, and from schools and press offices. Among other things it was ascertained that in connection with the 10th Central Committee Plenum setting up the commission for assessing responsibility for the crisis, party organizations should support efforts by the commission with positive initiatives and ideas. At present it is of utmost importance to observe democratic election rules in the selection of worthy delegates.

Concerning the discussion on the Central Congress Commission materials and the preparation of a new programmatic proposal, which are in agreement with the views of members and feelings of the community, the following statement was formulated: In connection with the proposal made by the participants at the Torun party forum and with broadening the initiative of the Gdansk Voivodship Precongress Commission, we appeal to the PZPR Central Committee Politburo to organize a precongress discussion within the framework of the second party forum held at the beginning of June this year, with the participation of representatives of all voivodship precongress commissions, all operating forms of horizontal consultations, and 204 major work enterprises.

The second party forum must be devoted to discussion of Central Congress Commission materials and to the preparation of alternative programmatic proposals to the party before the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

In agreement with the Gdansk Voivodship Precongress Commission and the Poznan Voivodship congress team, we propose organizing a meeting of coorganizers of the 13 May Poznan forum to prepare the second party forum.

UNSUITABILITY OF CANDIDATES FOR LEADERSHIP VIEWED

LD051654 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 5 May 81

[Boleslaw Drdzdak commentary]

[Excerpts] There is no perfect power in the world and there will never be one. All powers and authorities make bigger or smaller errors and everywhere in the world societies are watching the hands of their representatives. Of course, there are various deviations from just rule and they result either from conscious actions to harm those who are ruled or are the result of unsuitable people holding positions of leadership. As far as the second category of rulers is concerned, our society has been particularly unlucky in its recent history. Representatives of authority who make wrong decisions are hated, but if we have to deal with a common idiot we hate him even more. Alas, not all the people of the Jaroszewicz type have yet departed.

Public speeches and statements by prominent personalities of smaller or larger caliber, particularly the so-called advisers and experts, clearly prove the above statement.

The quality of their remarks is often so embarrassing it makes the listeners feel sorry for the speakers. One can still have some kind of diploma, some kind of paper qualification, and deal with matters totally irrelevant to the qualifications. Recently, when I wrote that alternative candidacies should be presented for posts in the apparatus of power, the statement caused great doubts. Explanations did not help. It is obvious, for instance, that not every good voivoda can be a good minister. Simple and logical, but still beyond the comprehension of some people.

In the end what happens is that, for instance, the members of People's Councils are offered two or three candidates for chairman, none of them suitable. [Words indistinct] there was a satirical picture in the ZYCIE LITERACKIE of Krakow, showing a ruler on his throne saying to his subject: You proved yourself to be a good shoemaker. In reward I shall make you cook to the court. Funny, isn't it?

PROCEEDINGS OF 6 MAY SESSION OF SEJM REPORTED

Agenda Cited

LD051920 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 May 81

[Excerpts] As reported earlier, the 12th session of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic will take place tomorrow, 6 May. The agenda for the meeting includes, among other things, a report on the Commission for Legislative Work on the government's draft bill on the Trade Union of Private Farmers and on the government's draft bill on the registration of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations.

Trade Union Bills Approved

LD061105 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0855 GMT 6 May 81

[Proceedings of the 6 May session of the Sejm held in the Sejm building in Warsaw--live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] At the moment members of the government led by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski are arriving. Stanislaw Kania is not taking part in the Sejm meeting because just now he is taking part in the meeting of his own party organization in the Plock Petrochemia enterprise. Now the members of the Council of State with its Chairman Henryk Jablonski are arriving. This part of the debate is to be chaired by Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa:

[Gucwa] The agenda for today's meeting determined by the Sejm Presidium has been presented to the citizen deputies. Does any deputy want to take the floor concerning the agenda? No. I thus consider that the Sejm has approved the agenda proposed by the Sejm Presidium. We now move to the first item on the agenda: report of the Commission for Legislative Work; on the government bill on the registration of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations--form Nos 50 and 52; on the Council of State bill on the registration of interunion organizations--form Nos 48 and 53. The rapporteur, Deputy Franciszek Sadurski, has the floor:

[Sadurski] Citizen speaker! Esteemed house! The Commission for Legislative Work has entrusted to me the task of reporting to today's Sejm meeting on two government bills, that is, on trade unions of private farmers and on the registration of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, and on the bill on the registration of interunion organizations, submitted by the Council of State at the instigation of the Consultative Commission of the Industrial-Branch Trade Unions. I am doing so with great pleasure since these drafts and in particular the draft bill on trade unions of private farmers will contribute to the alleviation of conflicts and social tensions in rural areas and will bring about a revival of agricultural production which is so indispensable for the biological needs of the community.

I should like to devote a few words to the third bill on the registration of interunion organizations submitted by the Council of State. The projected bill is intended to fill in a certain gap since in the present legal situation there are no grounds for the registration of interunion organizations of workers trade unions. Consequently, the now existing interunion organizations of industrial-branch unions and autonomous unions have restricted possibilities of action. This applies above all to such organizations as federations, confederations, consultative commissions and trade union associations. The bill proposes, as a result of initial changes to article 1 of the bill, that interunion organizations obtain legal status on the day of registration by the voivodship court in Warsaw in the manner envisaged for the newly formed regional associations of trade unions in the Council of State decision of 13 September 1980.

Basically the bill does not arouse any doubts. Like the other two bills, this bill will be of a provisional nature until the introduction of the general trade union bill.

[Gucwa] Is there anyone else who would like to take the floor? None. We begin to vote.

Those deputies who approve the bill on trade unions for private farmers in its entirety together with amendments proposed by the Commission for Legislative Work, raise their hands. Thank you. Who is against? None. Who abstains? None. Sorry, four abstain. The Sejm passes the bill with four abstentions.

Those deputies who support the approval in its entirety of the bill on the registration of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations as proposed by the Commission for Legislative Work, raise their hands. Thank you. Who is against? None. Who abstains? Seven abstentions.

Those deputies who support the approval in its entirety of the bill on the registration of interunion organizations as proposed by the Commission for Legislative Work, without amendments, raise their hands. Thank you. Who is against? None. Who abstains? One. The bill has been passed.

SEJM TO DISCUSS JARUZELSKI REPORT ON ECONOMY

LD052026 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski has sent the Sejm a report on the state of the Polish economy and the government's program for stabilizing the national economy. He enclosed information on the progress made in the work on economic reform.

It is expected these documents will be discussed first by the Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and the Presidium of the other Sejm commissions.

SZTANDAR MLODYCH INTERVIEW WITH LECH WALESA

AU052101 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 1-3 May 81 p 3

[Pawel Lewandowski and Marek Orzechowski interview with Lech Walesa: "We Can Really Produce a Great Poland"--place, date not given]

[Text] [Question] Mr Chairman, 40 days have gone by since the Bydgoszcz events. Do you think they were caused by the immaturity and irresponsibility of Bydgoszcz officials or were perhaps manipulated from Warsaw?

[Answer] I always rely on the facts, never on "ifs." Because I have no knowledge of the facts in question I am unable to answer your question with conviction. However, it seems to be that the Bydgoszcz events were a provocation. Everything points to it, but I repeat, I am unable to be categorical about it.

[Question] One member of the government commission inquiring into the Bydgoszcz events told us that there had been two simultaneous provocations: one by the authorities and one by Solidarity. Was he wrong?

[Answer] I have told you I never speculate, and because I have not checked on either suggestion I am unable to say anything. I am unable, and what is more I must not say anything. I never "think" [pun on judge] [sadze] because I do not want to be judged... [sadzony] If I have knowledge of a case and if I am conviced, then I can talk. As for your question, I assume there was a provocation. One may assume, but it is very doubtful whether there was a provocation on our part as well. Very doubtful.

I knew that something like that would happen. I knew long ago that a confrontation would materialize between these two forces--Solidarity and the militia and the security service--because it was inevitable. At the same time, I thought that the day would be put off bit by bit. In the course of our work we were bound to encounter such confrontation--sooner or later. As for me, I wanted and wished it to happen as late as possible and to be as far as possible from us. But events took their own course.

[Question] Can there be another installment of it?

[Answer] Perhaps. The next provocation will be very dangerous. Those who fall feel themselves threatened and those who are corrupt defend themselves. These are such serious issues that we must tackle them with wisdom and approach them with skill. If you make a false move you may get it in the neck.

[Question] Is not Edmund Baluka's illegal return to Poland a harbinger of another provocation in such a situation?

[Answer] I can say that this return has complicated some things for us--the talks with the government on political prisoners, for example. After all, the laws in this country are functioning. If they are bad, then let us improve them, but we should not break them.

[Question] During strike rallies you often recalled that you had been arrested over 100 times in the past 10 years, but that you had never appealed to people to settle accounts with those who had arrested you. You say: Let us forget the past and let us march toward our common goal. Mr Chairman, in Poland we have always marched forward and toward a common goal...

[Answer] Yes, but without safeguards! What has been done will never be undone, but we must safeguard ourselves and draw every lesson from our errors so that they are not repeated. Squaring accounts? Of course, there were people who broke the law, committed abuses and were big thieves, but let us bear in mind that, after all, each one of us has made his own contribution to that great mess.

[Question] What about some future safeguards then?

[Answer] We must have some control bodies--some social commissions--that can be replaced frequently so as not to become corrupted. Such bodies will watch the doings of the authorities as well as of other institutions, of the entire state structure. For example, they will watch how rapidly we--activists and officials--make money, why we go up and why we fall down....

[Question] But we have various social control commissions....

[Answer] What we have is perhaps not too bad, but it does not work and if it works and functions then it is corrupted. I have no time to substantiate, but I know that something must be done. I have general outlines in my mind, but it is for the lawyers and sociologists and for the authorites to work out details. There are decent people among those in power. And in the militia, too. Let them suggest something. After all, they are also Poles. We need social control bodies, but ones that are replaceable so they do not get corrupted.

[Question] That is a matter for the immediate, pressing future, but still the future. Let us go back to the present. How do you evaluate the country's situation?

[Answer] It is really possible to produce a great Poland. However, I assume that there is--no, I do not assume, because there is--a great danger that if we fail to come to our senses we may catch it in such a way that generations will not forgive us.

[Question] Who is to come to his senses and what dangers are threatening us?

[Answer] Well, if we quarrel and always seek confrontation and if we attack the militia, the security service and official premises frontally and not as we should attack them, something will give and we will begin to sink in chaos and disarray and to fight among ourselves. In such a case a third party will be blessed for having disarmed us, and that--and not intervention--is the greatest danger. In such a case intervention will be a blessing, and I am not afraid of it.

As a people who have shown prudence up to now we have won a great deal and, of course, even more so on paper. But the most important thing now is to sort all that out and to get down to work while at the same time exerting control and not giving up our positions; instead, shifting tactics and not driving anyone into a tight corner. After all, we have too many of those accords and there is no point in signing more. It is nonsense to do so now. Today we have to follow another tack. There is nothing in it to shout, but it is something to be able to achieve things step by step, inch by inch--to get more room and to obtain something more again. Yes, it is something. Let us search for ways out. If one way is no good then let us take another one. Today we must follow formal-legal paths. For example, the electorate presents the Sejm deputies with five demands and then watches the vote on television. If the deputies fail to honor the will of their electors, then the latter have the right to ask: Whom do you represent? Us? That is possible and necessary: Things will be alright if we do that.

[Question] Whatever you say makes us think that the view that you are a man of moderation is not groundless. Speaking of dangers threatening Poland, you stressed radicalism. Did you have in mind radicalism in Solidarity?

[Answer] There are radicals in Solidarity, but not so many! I would say that there are more unreasonable people in Solidarity. That is one thing. And we also have a few people who are a little corrupted. Some people have got the taste of power, you know, and that is why we need some new blood. But we need it primarily because the people who have roused this country are chiefly men of battle and action. They are not tacticians. They are ferocious and courageous people, qualities we do not need so very much now. What counts most today is tactics and searching for methods of give and take in order to win. The people I have mentioned often forget that, and that is why they should adapt themselves to a new struggle or we should give them up. Of course, it would be bad if we were all of one mind in Solidarity. Differences of views help us all the way, but we need new blood so that commonsense is always victorious.

[Question] Where is that new blood to be found?

[Answer] In democracy. If we are faced with a great situation and a great risk we must not make rash decisions. People must learn such things. I am not afraid of struggle. If necessary I will be the first to join battle, but I must know that those who go with me will not flee the field. And they will not flee if they know why we fight. I will not renege when we make a joint decision.

[Question] That is very reasonable, Mr Chairman. But is not the tactics, to which you ascribe such importance, an attempt to incorporate Solidarity in the state structures that Solidarity questioned when it came into being on the wave of social protest in August 1980?

[Answer] You have got it all wrong. We should bear in mind one thing: That Solidarity and all of us noted the absence of other organizational solutions--control solutions and other solutions. There was simply an absence of other organizations.

And to prevent the situation you have mentioned, we must now put forward those organizational solutions that are now most important and, for the time being, most unobtrusive. When we have done that we will become a purely trade union organization, and other people will deal with other matters that we need and must have. Farmers were with us, for example, but now they are not. Taxi drivers were with us, but will no longer be today. And small artisans who do not employ hired labor will not be with us. So you see the situation is not what it was.

[Question] The development of events--especially the results of the Gdansk session of the National Consultative Commission following the Bydgoszcz incidents and the 30 March accord with the government--as well as resignations or attempts to resign in the case of many Solidarity activists prove to us that your concept has not been accepted by everyone to the same extent or at least to an extent that precludes the confirmation of the view that there are differences of opinion in Solidarity.

[Answer] Who is without adversaries? I have them and my concepts have them. The difference between me and them boils down mainly to the fact that I do not even have time for such speculations. If you want to help me then just follow those speculations. People understand me. When I rise to speak in a stadium I know that people will listen to me. I have no fears because I play a clear game. People accept me, but I have no time to explain to them the detailed purpose of my concept. Some activists do it differently for various reasons--at times their pride is a factor.... No wonder: I receive more flowers and more intensive welcomes.... They say we all plow in the same way and yet one of us is given more. Of course, I share what I receive, but someone may accuse me of not sharing everything and of not sharing equitably. This is the way of the human breed. Also a taste of power. Perhaps I have too much power?...

Add to that the radicalism of some activists--radicalism and perhaps something else as well. Everything is possible. No wonder that all that makes things a little difficult for me.

Things are made difficult, but not difficult enough for me to lose the cause. Of course, it is not me personally because I would really like to give it all up. I have enough of all that. I have not joined the movement to make a career, but I cannot leave it to unreasonable people because they will shoot all my children.

That is why even if they perform 10 somersaults I will rise to speak in public and will say that I will win. Let no one speculate about me. I am too strong--strong through honesty.

[Question] Perhaps you are strong because without Walesa Solidarity would not be Solidarity?

[Answer] No, no, no. If you hamstring, well, you will bring everyone to a fall. Me too. Even Christ was crucified in the end, and who am I? But that is not the point. The question is not whether I want to stay on, but whether I will be able to stay on.

[Question] That is not an insignificant question, considering that your troubles have not sprung up just today. Solidarity was established as a great social movement, one that demanded many satisfactions. That is why, given your moderation, all those who placed great hopes in the movement--hopes greater than yours perhaps--may never obtain the desired satisfaction.

[Answer] That is true. August demonstrated that all the institutions in the state structures had lost society's trust. As a new and vociferous structure--one that tackled everything from politics through abuses--Solidarity became a focus of that trust. I knew that it was wrong, but I also knew that we had to assume the burden of that trust until the new institutional and organizational solutions that I mentioned before were developed. What we must now do is to not retreat, but step by step hand over such activities to other organizations which, thanks to Solidarity, have already been established or will be established. When that is done, we will stay on as a trade union. When this will be so depends on the government and on the situation. We will embark upon a purely trade union path when the people are fully aware of the meaning of such a path.

[Question] Are those the only difficulties confronting Solidarity? And when it is a consolidated organization, what will be the most important for it?

[Answer] No, those are not the only difficulties. Point one, elections must be held as soon as possible. Point two, all people able to write should pay heed to what we are doing and how, how we should proceed. They should pay heed even to the directions in which our demands go and to the ways they are being posed. That should be written about, even if at the same time we should be ridiculed for the lack of moderation of some of us.

[Question] To be ridiculed? Well, but Solidarity printers will refuse to print that.

[Answer] I myself would make fun of Solidarity at least for the fact that each one wants to sign with each other some sort of agreement. We have just signed six subsequent agreements out of a total of 3,000 or 4,000 odd. Someone may ask: What are they doing? But that is not the way to do it. What we are doing, everything that we are doing, is contained in the 21 Gdansk demands, and even with them we have many troubles. What have we achieved? In many cases less than what was signed in Gdansk. Therefore, let us stop that foolishness. I do not interfere in many moves because I do not want to be ridiculous, but at some time I will have to say something is wrong. Point four of the Gdansk agreement says that nobody in Poland will be imprisoned for his convictions. But what is happening now? Then let us tell each other--let us say frankly--are we abiding by the agreement or not, and if not, then--briefly--why not? Let us settle first the old issues, let us implement the first agreements, and there will be no need to sign new ones.

[Question] Apparently you address that appeal not merely to trade union organizations... Mr Chairman, in Gdansk you were sitting at Poland's first negotiation table. Following you, the others sat down at other tables. You signed agreements with government commissions which, as the government did not hurry with its offers, were expected to change for the better and fairer the lives of all of us Poles. In your opinion, how is an average Pole, frequently a Solidarity member, living now after those 9 months?

[Answer] The living situation of the Poles has changed, but the important point is what yardstick one applies to measure one's life. Speaking generally, if we apply the stomach and food line yardstick, the situation has deteriorated. But if we had insight into people, we could see that they are no longer as oppressed and intimidated as before, that they are able to speak aloud and are not in danger of being fired from their jobs. In that respect the situation has improved.

[Question] Do you not think that eventually the empty stomach will rebel against the free head?

[Answer] Such a danger does exist, but only when we ram with that head blindly against the wall. But is we act prudently, we will always be able to say--moreover, quite rightly--we are not alone when we go forward and ask, it is not we alone who control the markets. We must count on honesty in every respect, all of us must count on honesty.

[Question] You are more experienced than we, both in life and in politics, and for that reason we take your call for honesty in life as an indicator, not just for one's own behavior, but also for assessing people. Tell us then honestly, how was it actually with that 30 March agreement. Did Solidarity yield, or did it not? Rulewski insisted that Solidarity lost everything.

[Answer] Certainly, he can differ from me in what he says, but it does not mean that there is some conflict between us. I consider there is none. He can see the things differently, certainly he committed many stupidities where I would act differently. That is his business to have different views. I do not have any major grudges against him. If he has any, let him tell them to me face to face. I only speak face to face. I have never done any wrong to him.

[Question] However, here we must remind you, if you do not mind, that the conflict between the two of you, which was recently talked about, arose against a different background.

In our opinion, the point of it was the assessment of the events and of the steps taken in March. Rulewski charged you in particular with betrayal of democracy, of principles, and with losing the chance...

[Answer] Trade union democracy was primarily broken when the delegation for the talks was elected secretly and when we were given no authority whatever. That precisely was the breach of democracy. As far as I am concerned, if I had to repeat the March move a hundred times, I would repeat it. I would do it for the sake of responsibility, even at the price of being called a dictator. I have not broken democracy in any case.

Now let us go to the assessment of the agreement signed. Certainly, if I am a trade union figure, my assessment of the situation must not be reduced to the paper signed--by the way, a feeble [salaby] paper--here I do agree. But let us take a look at what happened then in Poland at that time. One-third of the Bydgoszcz council members followed us. So did party committees, militia commands and other structures which were silent up to then. They followed us and noticed that in our Poland issues do not have to be brought to a head and settled by the fist. That is how we should assess the situation, and not only from the point of view of a mere paper. In history, there have been non-aggression pacts, but did everyone respect them?

Let me tell you more. I even anticipated that I would be blamed for the talks, and thus for the first time introduced minute notes, detailed minutes showing who said what, and that is a document. You can see for yourself, gentlemen, even if it is a shame, what was said by Walesa and what by Rakowski. I knew there would be grudges, and now I am able to say calmly: You can have a look, Gwiazda, what have you secured by fighting. You took the floor twice and twice you spoiled things. You did not struggle at all. And the gentlemen from Lodz? forgive me, have a look: You did not speak at all. So why the hell were you there? I did struggle nonstop. You can see that in writing, who struggled and how. To lay blame afterward--oh, that is easy anybody can do that. I will present my case and you present yours--let us see who attained what and by what tactics.... That was a showdown, in my opinion, a prepared one, but it failed. It failed, because enterprises moved quickly to help me.

[Question] You proceed from the assumption that awareness of the situation, and thus access to information, to the facts, and freedom in assessing them, is decisive to make proper moves and steps. That is true. But if someone pursues goals that differ from yours, he may also draw different conclusions from the assessment of the situation. Moreover, quite different information may be used to formulate them. Anyhow, Poland began to boil over, because everybody knew something else. In other terms, the troubles with quick and true information continued. Solidarity has thus far enjoyed the opinion of an organization possessing reliable information. Your remarks show that an infringement upon that rule on public information may result in moves jeopardizing our fatherland's security.

[Answer] That is right. All of us must know the truth about the country and about what is going on in it. All of us, and particularly public figures, must also look further, comprehensively, and must heed not mere texts alone, but the situation. It is not just Solidarity's destiny that depends on it. Poland has changed and is changing because Poland knows increasingly more. Certainly, we still have not settled the issue of censorship, but that issue is being settled. One need only watch it. We must see to it that people in Bydgoszcz know the same as people in Rzeszow do. It is not sufficient to come to believe that there is no censorship, and no new agreement on that issue needs to be signed. The only thing that matters is that free information not be blocked.

[Question] What matters in that case is not regulations or institutions, but primarily people.

[Answer] The press is changing, radio is changing, not because we have ordered them to change, but simply because there are decent people there also, and they see the need to do something for our Poland.

[Question] What has the Bydgoszcz lesson done for Poland?

[Answer] First of all, it was premature, but it has happened, and therefore there is no point in grumbling. As far as advantages are concerned, on second thought, we have gained a great deal: Democracy has begun to move. We have learned who is who and who tries to split the union. Many things have become apparent. And that is very good, although the atmosphere still has not been completely clarified. The electoral struggle has begun. Some have resorted to disgusting sallies, are forming factions, some are preparing, some groups are emerging...

Let me say frankly, if some faction gains the upper hand, I do not want to continue in the union. My character is different, and I am not suitable for that. But at the same time I will not allow that factional trend to bring about a situation in which I would not hesitate to give up and to go home. I shall not permit that at any time, even if I am outside the union! I will act, I will organize a manifestation, I will attack, I will even organize a strike wherever I have adherents, and I will smash that trend! I shall not allow that! No matter what, I shall not allow it. They will have to slaughter me!

[Question] Mr Chairman, you are not the only person able to indicate the way for Solidarity. But we are deeply convinced that you have the gravest moral right to install such a signpost. What would you put on it?

[Answer] A heart, a heart: truth and justice.

SOLIDARITY ACCESS TO RADIO, TV DISCUSSED

LD060004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Representatives of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity conducted talks late into the night on access for Solidarity to radio and television. The results of the meeting, which was attended by the press spokesmen for both sides, Jozef Barecki and Janusz Onyszkiewicz, are not yet known.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL MEETS WITH MKZ IN RADOM

LD052058 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] This afternoon Prof Zygmunt Rybicki, chairman of the government commission responsible for talks with the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] Solidarity Ziemia Radomska, met with the voivodship People's Council in Radom at which voivodas, the chairman of the municipal People's Council and the town's mayor took part.

Minister Rybicki reported on the previous course of the talks with the delegation of Radom Solidarity. During the meeting the councillors put forward many questions relating to solutions to problems mentioned during the talks and which refer mainly to housing construction, the health service, municipal matters and the running of administrative installations and premises.

At 1800 the fourth round of talks between the government commission and MKZ Solidarity Ziemia Radomska started. The chairman of the government commission said that in order to obtain a full explanation of the matters and problems connected with the handing over of installations of the headquarters of the voivodship Citizens' Militia for social use, one must get the opinion of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Andrzej Sobieraj, chairman of MKZ Solidarity Ziemia Radomska, expressed the view that the key to further negotiations was handing over buildings of the Citizens' Militia for social use, stressing that they form an integral part of the economic demands which Radom Solidarity had previously presented to the government.

Talks in Radom Suspended

LD061004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Talks between the government commission led by Zygmunt Rybicki and representatives of Solidarity Ziemia Radomska, which were resumed yesterday in Radom, were suspended last night until next Tuesday.

Issues connected with events of June 1976, economic compensation for the Radom region, as well as a demand put forward by Solidarity to hand over buildings of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for social purposes were discussed.

GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY TALKS CONTINUE IN NOWY SACZ

LD060012 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] The next round of talks between the working commission at the central level and the Nowy Sacz Solidarity organization have started in Nowy Sacz. There is no way I can mention here all the subjects of the talks since many of the matters touched on can and should be resolved at the voivodship level. One of the main subjects of the talks will be investments which in the opinion of Nowy Sacz Solidarity are inappropriate, unnecessary and which are even being carried out in violation of the existing law and technical designs. The Solidarity side is demanding that the completed projects be handed over for general social use and that what was used in terms of men and machinery for the construction projects should be used in housing construction.

An impasse was already reached at the start of the talks. A note has been made in the protocol of the decisions of the last meeting between both commissions concerning the parish peasants' self-aid cooperative in Stary Sacz. This note envisaged that the cooperative would be investigated and that the chairman of the board and one of the deputy chairmen would be recalled from their posts. The Nowy Sacz Solidarity has made the holding of further talks dependent on the implementation of this note.

After a break in the talks lasting 3 and 1/2 hours a telex arrived from the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives in which it was said the above-mentioned people will be recalled tomorrow from the functions they are fulfilling. Right now, as I give you this report, the talks are continuing.

AGREFMENT REACHED BETWEEN WORKERS IN OSTROWIEC

LD051935 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 May 81

[Jozef Wierzba Report]

[Text] There is a conflict going on in the Municipal Transport Enterprise [MKP] in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski about an incident which occurred during the 27 March warning strike. Last night the two sides reached agreement, thanks to which three drivers have now been reemployed.

The conflict was discussed today at the district conference of the communal and local economy employees trade union in Kielce where recommendations have been issued to observe earlier resolutions. These concern the dismissal of two deputy voivodas in Kielce and the directors of the amalgamation of the communal and housing economy enterprises in Kielce, as well as the cancelling of the decision to suspend the chief director of MPK in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski.

SZCZECIN PROSECUTOR INTERROGATES EDMUND BALUKA

LD052014 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] The Szczecin Voivodship prosecutor has again interrogated Edmund Baluka. Let us recall that the prosecutor formulated three basic charges against Baluka: The first concerns his cooperation with Radio Free Europe; the second deals with the bulletin "THE HORNET" [SZERZEN] which Baluka edited, 15 issues of which have been distributed in Poland; the third concerns illegally crossing the border when returning to his homeland.

The interrogations, in the presence of the Baluka's defense counsel and a representative of the NSZZ Solidarity Founding Committee from Szczecin shipyard, will be continued.

VERDET ADDRESSES SESSION ON RCP ANNIVERSARY

AU051737 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] A scientific session on the subject "The RCP--Leading Political Force in the Revolutionary Change of Romanian Society" took place today at the history museum of the communist party and the revolutionary and democratic movement in Romania. The session was organized by the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and the Institute of Historical, Social and Political Studies of the RCP Central Committee. The proceedings were attended by Comrades Ilie Verdet, Constantin Dascalescu, Cornelia Filipas, Leonte Rautu, Aneta Spornic, Mihai Gere, Cornel Onescu and Ilie Radulescu. Members of the Central Committee, veteran militants of the revolutionary movement in our country, party activists, pedagogical cadres, researchers and students were also present.

Opening the session's proceedings, Comrade Ilie Verdet, member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee and premier of the government, spoke about the historic significance of the creation of the RCP in May 1921 for our workers class and all our people and depicted the struggle carried out by the RCP to implement the great revolutionary changes in the past 36 years. The speaker said that in building the socialist society, the Ninth RCP Congress in June 1965 and the election of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the head of our party and state marked a particularly important point in the life of the party and country and gave new impetus to Romania's progress along the road of socialism and communism.

Presenting the great achievements attained by the Romanian people in all fields of activity as well as the great prospects opened up to our country, Comrade Ilie Verdet said that they are all indissolubly connected with the personality and prodigious activity of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who has made and is making a decisive contribution to drafting the programs of socialist construction and the entire domestic and foreign policy of Romania. In conclusion, the speaker pointed out the outstanding contribution of our party to strengthening friendship and cooperation with all socialist countries and all communist and workers parties and expanding ties with socialist and social democratic parties, other democratic parties, national liberation movements and progressive forces throughout the world, thus working to create a broad front of the anti-imperialist forces, to safeguard peace and to observe each people's right to be master of its destiny.

Various other speakers then addressed the meeting: Constantin Dascalescu, Leonte Rautu, Ion Popescu-Puturi, Cornel Onescu, Vasile Bologa, member of the party Central Committee and secretary of the party committee of Grivita Rosie enterprise for chemical equipment, Tamara Dobrin, Petre Gigea, Mihai Gere, Mihnea Gheorghiu, Aneta Spornic, Gheorghe Mihoc, chairman of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Cornelia Filipas and Gheorghe Dolgu.

In conclusion, the participants in the session adopted a cable to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in which they pledge to spare no effort to make a contribution, along with all working people, to implementing the 12th party congress decisions and raising our fatherland onto higher peaks of socialist and communist civilization.

ANDREI TALKS WITH CSSR DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER

AU051332 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Comrade Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, today received Comrade Dusan Spaci', deputy foreign minister of the CSSR.

On this occasion, the two sides exchanged views on the current status and prospects of Romanian-CSSR relations and current international issues of common interest. During the meeting, they noted with satisfaction the constant development of relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between the two countries. A decisive role in this respect is played by the fruitful meetings and talks between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Gustav Husak.

At the same time, the two sides expressed their common desire to further expand cooperation at various levels, and cooperation regarding international political issues, between Romania and the CSSR to the benefit of the two countries and peoples and the cause of socialism, peace and understanding in the world.

A program to apply the agreement on cultural cooperation between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the CSSR Government for 1981-85 was signed today. The document sets out major actions and means of cooperation in the fields of culture, art, press, science, education and health designed to contribute to a better mutual understanding and to strengthening friendship between the two countries and peoples.

GREEK SOCIALIST LEADER ARRIVES IN BUCHAREST

AU051937 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 5 May (AGERPRES)--Andreas Papandreou, leader of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, [PASOK] arrived in Bucharest on May 5 at the invitation of the CC of the RCP. The PASOK leader is accompanied by (Apostolos Lazaris), secretary of the analysis and planning commission of the Central Committee of that party, and by (Michail Zagas), private secretary.

At the Otopeni Airport the guest was welcomed by Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Ilie Radulescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

SCINTEIA COMMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY GOALS

AU251711 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1148 GMT 25 Apr 81

["Friendship and Solidarity With the Socialist Countries, Dear Cause of the Romanian Communists"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 25 Apr (AGERPRES)--Strengthening the friendship, collaboration and solidarity with all the socialist countries is one of the fundamental features of RCP's foreign policy, of its entire international activity, a permanent principled concern, promoted with unflinching consistency. It has found a firm confirmation over the decades, mirroring the internationalist traditions of Romania's working class movement, the particular importance attached by the RCP to the tight collaboration with the socialist countries within the socialist construction, newspaper SCINTEIA of April 25 points out in an article headed as above, belonging to the series devoted to the 60th foundation anniversary of the Romanian Communist Party.

Calling up the standpoint of the working class movement, of the Romanian revolutionary centres, which heartily welcomed the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the newspaper emphasizes the firmness in which the RCP acted in view of establishing relations of good neighbourliness between Romania and the USSR, of strengthening the friendship between the Romanian people and the Soviet peoples. It is RCP's merit to have organized and led the struggle against the Nazi invaders and Antonescu's dictatorship, in order to withdraw Romania from war and to have her participate, alongside the Soviet Union, in the antifascist war--SCINTEIA writes.

Under the radically changed post-war circumstances when the political power was conquered by the working people and the RCP became a ruling party, the strengthening of the friendship, collaboration and solidarity with the Soviet Union became a state policy, being successfully completed by the relations of friendship and tight collaboration with all the other countries passing to the construction of the new system.

A cause dear to the Romanian communists, the policy of strengthening the collaboration with the socialist countries is written down in the multiple party documents, in the reports, resolutions and decisions of the congresses and national conferences, has been sanctioned by the RCP programme. The lasting and durable binder on this friendship is the community of social system, the ideology of dialectical and historical materialism, the common aims of building socialism and communism.

On the eve of RCP's anniversary, the relations with all the socialist countries are most comprehensive and rich, SCINTEIA notes mentioning that in this respect the treaties of friendship and multilateral collaboration concluded with each of the respective states, and stressing that they "contain new norms and principles of collaboration crystallized in the very process of developing and improving the mutual relations: the principles of national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, comradely assistance and international solidarity". These principles have asserted themselves as a reliable foundation and offer the most favourable premises for a fruitful collaboration, in the interest of all the socialist countries, SCINTEIA highlights and goes on: Within the continuously upward course of the relations between Romania and the other socialist countries, the frequent meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceusescu and the party and state leaders of the other socialist countries being of an exceptional importance.

It is a matter of pride for the Romanian communists, for the country's people, that Romania has and develops relations of friendly collaboration with all the other socialist countries, without exception, proving by virtue of her own example that this kind of collaboration is quite possible to be achieved, to the benefit of each particular country, of the general cause of socialism, of strengthening its prestige and appeal.

Naturally, the RCP is paying due attention to the expansion of collaboration with the neighbouring socialist countries. The 12th Congress of the RCP highlighted the particular importance attached to the development of relations with the Soviet Union, pointing out that in the future too the intensification of these links would be a steady concern with socialist Romania.

At the same time, Romania has relations of broad collaboration with other socialist countries, be they on our continent, such as the GDR, Poland or Czechoslovakia, or located on other continents. Relations of tight friendship and collaboration are being developed between Socialist Romania and People's China in various fields of the socialist construction. Fruitful relations of collaboration and solidarity have been established also between Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In this spirit the RCP and the Romanian state firmly supporting the just cause of the peaceful democratic reunification of the Korean people. In the same spirit, Romania develops her friendly collaboration with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, with the other socialist countries in Asia. Friendly relations, of tight and fruitful collaboration have been established between Romania and the Republic of Cuba, the first socialist state on the American continent.

The deepening and the diversification of the economic cooperation are extremely significant. Going up [words indistinct] thousand million lei valuta to some 46 thousand million lei valuta, the volume of exchanges of material goods will witness a fresh and substantial 68 to 70 percent increase over the present quinquennium.

Developing the bilateral collaboration with all the socialist countries, the RCP and the Romanian state are concerned, at the same time, with expanding multilateral connections within the CMEA, in order to speed up the progress of each of the members countries, to modernize the productive forces, to meet the demands of raw materials, fuel and energy for the rapprochement and evening of the levels of development of their national economies. A fundamental feature of the economic relations is the ever stronger assertion of the forms of modern superior, highly efficient collaboration, such as the cooperation in the common building of objectives of great importance for the development of the productive forces in Romania and the other countries.

Internationally, Romania collaborates with the socialist countries in the struggle for detente, disarmament and peace, against the imperialist policy of force and threat with force, for the democratization of the relations among states, for the triumph of the cause of peoples' progress.

One of the great merits of the RCP is its having acted permanently, firmly, for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries. Starting from the great diversity of conditions under which the new system is being built, the RCP has considered the emergence of different viewpoints among the socialist countries to be a completely natural phenomena. What it essential is that these different viewpoints should not affect the inter-state relations, the friendship and collaboration among the countries which build the new system. The RCP holds firmly the stand that states should focus on what is common and helps the rapprochement, that they should do everything for avoiding the worsening of divergencies, for discussing any questions in a spirit of esteem and mutual confidence, and considers that the relations among the socialist countries must be an example of superior inter-state relations. By virtue of these reasons, and in tune with the decisions of the 12th Congress the RCP concentrates its efforts for further expanding and deepening the relations of friendship and collaboration with the socialist countries, for making its contribution to the strengthening of their unity and solidarity.

It is the conviction of communists, the whole party, that the strengthening of friendship, multilateral collaboration and solidarity with the countries which are building the new system meets best the interests of the Romanian people, makes an important contribution to the promotion of the cause of socialism, progress and peace in the world.

In conclusion the article reaffirms the RCP resolve to do everything henceforth for the development of the collaboration with all the socialist countries, in the most various domains of social activity, to act firmly for their unity, for the progress and the prosperity of each people which is building the new system.

KOSOVO LC PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE MEETS; BAKALI QUITS

Presidium Findings Reviewed

LD051056 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0707 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Summary] Pristina, 5 May (TANJUG)--Today's session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee will use as a basis for debate the information submitted by the provincial committee Presidium which assesses causes and consequences of hostile demonstrations and the organization and activity of the League of Communists and other socialist forces in Kosovo.

This material submitted by the Presidium emphasizes that the recent demonstrations in Kosovo are the result of long years of organized hostile activity by Albanian nationalists and irredentists.

"In this activity, the work of all categories of the internal and external enemy came to the fore. As regards activities from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, this had not ceased since the liberation and represents the continuity of the work of quisling and fascist organizations, and by Cominform forces acting from positions of Albanian nationalism and the ideology of the Albanian Workers' Party.

"The assessment notes that, in its relations with our country, Albania acted with alleged readiness to develop good-neighborly relations while at the same time carrying out intelligence, propaganda and subversive activity, open ideo-political propaganda from positions of nationalism, irredentism, and Stanlinism. This activity matches the strategy of plans by the state and party leadership of Albania in relations with our country."

The Presidium then discussed the slogans used in the demonstrations, saying they were aimed at undermining Yugoslavia and at attempting to join Kosovo to Albania.

"In this connection it is recalled that there were also specific instances of direct goading and initiation of irredentist activity by the Albanian diplomatic and consular representative offices and by some Albanian citizens in our country and abroad."

Referring to ZERI I POPULLIT comments on the events, the Presidium said there was not enough ideopolitical propaganda or activity to oppose such anti-Yugoslav assertions by Albania.

"The analysis prepared for today's session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee continues by saying that recent events in the province demonstrated that since 1948 the Albanian leadership has been continually obsessed by an anti-Yugoslav orientation and that it constantly organized subversive actions and fomented Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo." This ideological campaign by Albania was underestimated in Yugoslavia with the result that we did not reply to these anti-Yugoslav attacks.

"Explicit statements by Albanian leaders on the unification of all Albanian people and expressing open territorial claims in relation to our country were even passed over. In spite of all that, we allowed Albania to establish specific cooperation and relations with Kosovo, particularly in the sphere of culture, which permitted a greater concentration of Albanian propaganda."

Albania tries to present itself as a protector of Albanians in Yugoslavia while propagating blind hatred of the Serbs and other nations in Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

"The Presidium considers that insufficient attention has been paid to the moral and political suitability and ideological maturity of the people who were in any way in contact with Albania.

There was even privatization in these contacts, uncontrolled behavior, lack of vigilance and insufficient organization, which caused certain ideo-political complications. There was even impermissible tolerance toward the provocative and insolent behavior of individuals and teams visiting from Albania, who demanded that pictures of President Tito be removed from a hall before they would perform."

Despite the fact that large amounts of money have been invested in Kosovo, various contradictions are present, such as a shortage of jobs. Not enough was done to counter nationalistic and irredentist tendencies, and in some areas there was no democratic atmosphere for open discussions on intranational relations.

"The consciousness of some League of Communist members is still not at the level of being able to ensure national equality. Such League of Communist members do not know how to differentiate between the true interests of their nation and those which harm it, and they were either indifferent toward nationalistic phenomena or swam in the same water. That is why the material submitted to the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee session says that there is a need for uncompromising ideological differentiation in the League of Communists for the removal from League of Communists ranks of those who have never been able to fight effectively and consistently against nationalism, particularly in their own environment."

The fact that a large section of the population of Kosovo--one in three--is engaged in study, has led to certain contradictions. Young people have not been made sufficiently aware of the joint history the fate of our nations and nationalities. Apart from this, certain textbooks from Albania are in use in schools, and the lack of true ideopolitical work and vigilance created room for penetration by hostile nationalistic and irredentist forces.

"All factors in education and all sociopolitical organizations, particularly the Kosovo League of Communists, bear the blame for these weaknesses. Teachers' responsibility to work obligations and expert and scientific training has not been sharp enough, and the phenomenon of monopolies of individuals and groups in carrying out cadre policy has been demonstrated, thereby preventing equitable national representation in the cadres."

Apart from this, teachers are brought in from Albania, and they are not always properly supervised.

"In the section relating to the activity of subjective forces the report says that the League of Communists has not always succeeded in being equal to the complex conditions in which it is fighting for the realization of its leading ideopolitical role. An uncritical attitude toward problems and lack of acquaintance with people's political moods rendered many League of Communists basic organizations inactive, and made communists inert from being burdened with liberalism and opportunism, and made many of them, especially those in educational and cultural institutions, affected by national romanticism and nationalism. The danger of Albanian nationalism and irredentism was underestimated, and an atmosphere was created of lack of reproach and silence over the real state of affairs. The League of Communists was isolated into its using a forum work method and into informal groups."

Although there are many League of Communists members at Pristina University, the recent events exposed the number as being too low.

"The Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium criticized its own work, noting that it had adopted standpoints and conclusions but had not always ensured that they were realized. Neither the provincial committee nor its members were sufficiently involved in this. Preoccupied with current issues, the Presidium had not devoted sufficient attention to party development and the strengthening of League of Communists overall action capability.

That is why criticism and self-criticism by all cadres and League of Communist members in assessing the situation, in establishing and undertaking measures to overcome the situation, and in resolutely differentiating and strengthening unity is insisted upon."

Certain weaknesses were manifest in SAWP and trade union organizations in Kosovo. A superficial attitude to the problems of young people is evident and the young are poorly informed about topical sociopolitical events and the contradictions present in the province. This is why the enemy was able to involve young people in its counterrevolutionary aims. The Kosovo Veterans' Federation had the right attitude to instances of nationalism, but met with an unfavorable response. The media are also lacking in developed editorial policy and should have done more to expose the political platform of Albanian propaganda instead of being defensive. In some areas social self-protection did not function well and the security service was not able to penetrate and prevent the activity of hostile elements in time.

All these elements, along with many positive remarks about Kosovo's achievements and general socioeconomic transformation since the country's liberation, are quoted by the Kosovo League of Communists Presidium. This presentation, together with the introductory report by Ali Sukrija, member of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium, will serve as the basis for debate at today's 17th Session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee.

Sukrija Introductory Speech

LD051556 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0837 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Pristina, 5 May (TANJUG)--In his introductory report at today's session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, Ali Sukrija, provincial committee Presidium member, stressed that the material submitted, that is, the assessments of the causes and effects adopted by the Presidium, do not claim to be a complete and all-embracing analysis of the unpleasant events which affected our province. One will be able to grasp this, Sukrija said, only after a critical debate, assessments and suggestions by members of the provincial committee. On that basis an action program for the activity of the League of Communists of Kosovo and of other subjective forces will be worked out for the 13th Kosovo League of Communists Conference.

Sukrija then recalled the unity of assessment pronounced at earlier joint sessions of the provincial committee Presidium and the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium session and the Presidency of the Serbian Socialist Republic and at the LCY Central Committee Presidium session and the SFRY Presidency in describing the events in Kosovo. Ali Sukrija said that what stems from them is that enemy demonstrations and counterrevolutionary actions of 11 March and later had the same goal and character and the same aspirations, regardless of the initial demagogic slogans. The escalation of counterrevolutionary actions was halted by the energetic activity of members of the security organs of Kosovo and of the country, and by the growing political activity of the League of Communists and all other subjective forces in Kosovo.

Pointing to the fact that enemy demonstrations and counterrevolutionary actions are contrary to the essence and joint interests of all nations and nationalities living in Kosovo, and to the aspirations of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, Sukrija said that such activity was being strongly condemned, particularly by the Albanian nationality and other nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

Ali Sukrija said this enemy activity is being continued today in various forms, from writing enemy slogans, attempting to distribute leaflets and introducing various forms of misinformation among citizens, to disrupting tuition in schools, attempting to bring pupils out into the streets, creating disorder, and threatening pupils and parents not accepting this enemy activity. To protect public law and order, relevant political and legislative measures are being taken. However, all this shows clearly that the impudent and provocative behavior, that is, enemy activity, is aimed at introducing continual unrest among citizens, disrupting normal life, and at creating the psychosis of a conflict situation and uncertainty, not only among the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo but also among the Albanian and other nationalities. Therefore, parallel with the struggle for consistent differentiation, that is, uncovering enemy elements and organizers of enemy actions, decisive and efficient political activity must be waged, and at the same time legislative measures applied so that the roots of enemy activity be destroyed.

In making an assessment of the recent events in Kosovo, Ali Sukrija said that through them the activities of all categories of internal and foreign enemies from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, from the positions of the Albanian Workers' Party and Albanian emigre organizations abroad, from those of Leka Zogu to the so-called "Marxist-Leninist groupings" which are backed and bribed by various foreign intelligence services, had come to the fore. Their aim is the destruction of Socialist Yugoslavia, and the secession of Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia where Albanians live, and their annexation to Albania. In this context, Sukrija recalled that irredentist activity in this region of Yugoslavia had been practically continuous since the liberation.

He substantiated his assertion by the fact that in past years the state security organs had uncovered a number of enemy organizations and groups in Kosovo which had been developing under various names and programs from nationalistic and irredentist positions and anti-Yugoslav activity. In this way the so-called "Marxist-Leninist Party of Albanians in Yugoslavia" was uncovered; its aim was the secession of Kosovo from the Serbian Socialist Republic and the annexation to Kosovo of other regions of Yugoslavia where Albanians live to set up the "Republic of Kosovo" inside the SFRY. This slogan, in Ali Sukrija's assessment, was the dominant one in all the recent enemy actions in Kosovo. Because of this, the events in Kosovo beginning 11 March need not have come as a surprise, Ali Sukrija said. What was surprising, in his assessment, was the degree of their escalation, the brutality of enemy actions, the penetration of a section of school youth, infiltration of a section of members of the League of Communists and other structures, and attempts to infiltrate the working class and other citizens.

The outbreak of enemy demonstrations showed our lack of vigilance toward the enemy [few words indistinct] nationalism and irredentism, his organized and continued indoctrination, particularly a section of teachers and in a section of cultural activity and its workers.

Having noted that nationalism is mostly the prop and weapon of reactionary forces in their desire for political destabilization of multinational social communities, and one of the main paths of the strategy of enemy activity by proxy, Sukrija spoke of the organization and formation of all-people's defense and social self-protection in the province. He said that as regards organizational standards and cadres, certain weaknesses had been manifested, particularly in relation to the internal enemy.

The events in Kosovo had demonstrated, Sukrija said, that for the functioning of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection, and for the taking of timely measures, the point of departure was the correct and realistic assessment of the political security situation in every concrete environment.

Despite the knowledge that the political security situation was encumbered by many problems in the socioeconomic sphere and other spheres, nevertheless, the assessment had often been stressed and had often prevailed about the political security situation in Kosovo being favorable. Such a conclusion was arrived at on the basis of general facts such as the general mood of citizens, working people and the young, the results achieved, satisfaction about the basic values of the gains of the national liberation struggle and the revolution, self-management and the development of democratic relations in society, the position of the working man, consolidation of brotherhood and unity and readiness for defense from external enemies. These assessments and estimates remained, however, inside the committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection, the municipal committees of the League of Communists--but without testing through mobilization, broad involvement of League of Communist members and other sociopolitical organizations and organs. The events in Kosovo have shown that the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection has not been trained to oppose enemy actions. Parts of this system, particularly in the sphere of social self-protection, were not committed in time, and this had an effect on combatting the causes and eleminating the crisis situation which had arisen during demonstrations at particular places in the province.

Ali Sukrija then spoke of the dynamic development and growth of the Province of Kosovo, and he stressed that industrial production had increased since the liberation 18 times, that the number of employed in the social sector had increased 4.7 times. Such a dynamic rate of employment, though it did not ensure employment for a large number of the active population, nevertheless substantially altered the economic and social structure of the province. Industry has become the leading economic activity of Kosovo and its share in the total social product amounted to 37.7 percent in 1979. The share of agriculture was reduced from 1974 when it was 58.9 percent to only 20.9 percent in 1979. The percentage of the agricultural population has been nearly halved--from 80.9 percent in 1948 it fell to 42 percent in 1980, though in that same period the number of the population in the province increased 2.2 times. With the improvement in living conditions, the development of culture and health protection, life expectancy of the population increased from 45.5 in 1950 to 68 years in 1980. In the sphere of education and upbringing, a real revolution has taken place.

Sukrija then went on to speak of the structure of economic development in Kosovo, which had been unfavorable because, parallel with harnessing the raw material and energy potential, an adequate development of the manufacturing industry, which would have provided more jobs for the growing work force, had not taken place. In this context he also mentioned some subjective weaknesses which had accompanied this development and in this way created space for the activity of antisocialist, antiself-managing and enemy elements from the positions of nationalism and irredentism. Sukriaja also mentioned the haphazard development of higher education. By number of students, Pristina University ranks third in the country. Its development has not been in line with the material possibilities and needs of the province for appropriately skilled people.

Ali Sukrija also spoke of the quality of instruction and school syllabuses and textbooks in which there are insufficient materials which contribute to acquainting the younger generation with the cultural and general social heritage in the long joint history and destiny of our nations and nationalities. Textbooks in history, literature, language and some other subjects are encumbered by historicism and national romanticism in the interpretation of historical events and personalities and these exert an influence on keeping alive old and creating new national myths and nationalistic sentiments, the absence of the class and Marxist approach along the line of the LCY and of our revolution in the interpretation of various historical events and personalities, paving a clear path for alien ideologies, nationalism and irredentism.

As such tendencies had been underrated, Ali Sukrija stressed, ideopolitical vigilance was blunted or rather the ideopolitical vigilance of communists at the university and other schools as concerned all aspects of nationalism, and in particular as concerned Albanian nationalism, failed. It is in this that the answer should be sought to the question: What is the reason for such indoctrination in Albanian nationalism of a section of students and school youth? Because the fact is that these demonstrations, as in some earlier disorders and enemy activity, had their base in the students and school youth.

The League of Communists organizations at the university have 4,800 members. This is an impressive figure. However, the action of the enemy at the university, beginning on 11 March, demonstrates that the League of Communist organizations are suffering from anemia, superficiality and opportunism. If there is no thorough, consistent and decisive action--and this must take place in the settling of accounts with enemy activity and with nationalism and opportunism among communists, and primarily among cadres--the situation will not be easily normalized and the consequences, in Ali Sukrija's assessment, could be even graver and more far-reaching. We demanded that the League of Communists organization at the university be helped in making the ideopolitical action at the university and throughout Kosovo a decisive settling of accounts with Albanian nationalism and irredentism. This action should also constantly draw a strict boundary between Albanian nationalism and the need for further affirmation of the Albanian nationality. Along with the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, the League of Communists must fight decisively against Serbian, Montenegrin and any other kind of nationalism because, Ali Sukrija said, this is the only way to restore the shaken mutual trust and to consolidate togetherness and full equality.

According to Ali Sukrija, the responsibility for the assessment of the political situation and of the security situation in the province and for the implementation of appropriate measures lies primarily with the entire League of Communists of Kosovo, its Central Committee and the Presidium, particularly in connection with everything which occurred with the escalation of nationalism and irredentism and the brutal attacks by counterrevolutionary enemy forces on our constitutional order, socialist self-managing system and brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. Therefore, Ali Sukrija said, in the present political and security situation and in our political action we must be both critical and self-critical, regarding both the assessment of the situation and the establishment and implementation of measures aimed at overcoming such a situation, as well as in decisive ideological differentiation. It goes without saying, Ali Sukrija added, that what is of primary concern are members of the League of Communists who are Albanians, but not only them, because the struggle against any kind of nationalism calls for unified action by all communists. In this struggle and differentiation, in Ali Sukrija's opinion, weaknesses in the present cadre policy will be exposed and the quality of new cadres who are facing the test in decisive and revolutionary struggle against all enemies will come to the fore. This is required in order to maintain the continuity of the policy of the LCY and of the League of Communists of Serbia and Kosovo with regard to the position of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the political system of our federal community and with regard to the continuity of the entire socioeconomic development of Kosovo. What is significant in this context, Sukrija stressed, is the need to develop the consciousness of the working people and citizens concerning the role of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as an integral part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and as a constitutive element of the federation and to nurture and maintain this position.

At the end of his speech, Sukrija dealt with the influence of international factors which are not interested in the consolidation of Yugoslavia's independence, nonalignment and stability. He recalled that the leadership of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been obsessed since 1948 by an anti-Yugoslav orientation, which has resulted in subversive propaganda and the fanning of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

We ignored the unamibiguous statements by Albanian leaders at the time of the 100th anniversary of the "Prizren League" which expressed clear territorial claims against Yugoslavia. We did not want to enter a polemic because we did not want to worsen our entire range of neighborly cooperation and relations which are conducted in accordance with the well-known principles of our independent and nonaligned policy. We have valued our cooperation with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as mutually useful. We have acknowledged that this cooperation, particularly in the spheres of culture and education, should develop virtually exclusively through Kosovo, an arrangement on which they insisted, as well. Apart from the explicit attitudes of the Central Committee and of provincial organs in contacts with partners in Albania there have also been phenomena of haphazardness, insufficient organization as well as contacts by individuals who bypassed established protocols and relevant organs. All of this created fertile soil for the propaganda and subversive activity against our country. In addition, the tolerance in Kosovo of the provocative and arrogant behavior of individuals and guest artists from Albania was also impermissible. There were also dramatic examples of making performances, exhibitions or bus trips conditional on the removal of pictures of Comrade Tito.

In conclusion, Ali Sukrija said:

Through the patient and persistent work of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces one should aim at differentiation by eliminating from the ranks of the League of Communists everybody who adopts positions contrary to LCY policy of our socialist self-managing system, which is a policy of brotherhood and unity of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims and others in Kosovo and of all nations and nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in our socialist self-managing community of Yugoslavia.

Report on Discussions

LD151830 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 5 May 81

["Discussion at Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Session"--TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 5 May (TANJUG)--Bahri Oruci, the first speaker in the debate, presented the assessment that the results which Kosovo had achieved, and which are undoubtedly also immense, would be even greater had there been no subjective weaknesses. A considerable number of communists, he said, bear the moral and political responsibility for the situation in some branches of the economy, in particular in the sphere of investments where the weaknesses have been greatest.

Bahri Oruci also criticized the tendency of economic isolationism and he spoke in particular about the weaknesses in the sphere of education and culture of which the enemy made abundant use for subversive activity. Textbooks and literature were imported from Albania without an exhuastive analysis of their ideological suitability, for use in our schools and at Pristina University. The subversive activity, Oruci added, passed through almost legally, and the textbooks were not discussed either by the provincial committee or by the Executive Council. The responsibility for this should be ascertained. Only in the last few days was a commission set up to present an assessment about textbooks.

Bahri Oruci, member of the Presidium of the provincial committee and president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Kosovo, said that there was a collective responsibility both of the Executive Council and of him for the situation in some spheres, in particular due to inefficient activity. This is what the provincial committee has to assess.

He advocated that protocols in the sphere of education, culture, physical culture and information activity signed by Kosovo organizations with Albania should be critically examined in order for defense mechanisms to be incorporated in these protocols which will prevent the penetration of subversive activity by Albania.

Aslan Fazlija, leader of the Pristina party organization and member of the Presidium of the provincial committee, spoke about the propagandist subversive activity by Albania and in this context he pointed out the activity by groups existing abroad who are supported by "who knows whom." Lastly, he noted that followers of the hostile cause against Yugoslavia also exist in our country.

Regardless of how numerically small these groups are they do not choose the means to implement their goals, beginning with the demagogy in the students' canteen right up to slogans and actions for the destruction of our system. Aslan Fazlija advocated more operational work and activity to strengthen the knowledge that the component of hostile activity must always be counted on. The criticism directed at the League of Communists and at all subjective forces for not having felt the enemy activity is in Aslan Fazlija's view correct, but one should not lose sight of the fact that in all the difficult moments and times it was precisely the League of Communists which had the situation in hand. Of course, the League of Communists lacked the feeling for hostile ideological currents, Fazlija stressed, and explained that "following the liberation from pre-Brioni constraints" various currents encouraged national romanticism while the League of Communists was not vigilant enough to prevent this.

The economic difficulties are backwardness, differences in the standard of living which do not stem from the results of work, diminished social mobility of the young generation and the like. The League of Communists must come to grips with the erroneous concept of a nation, with the dilemmas of a section of the intelligentsia by explaining the real state of affairs in order to overcome the encumbrance of the consciousness which stems from historical circumstances about the Albanians not being the master in their own house. From this encumbrance stemmed a fresh encumbrance that this can be overcome by the so-called Republic of Kosovo. In correcting this, Fazlija said, we must fight at the same time against the underrating of the autonomous status of Kosovo.

Sinan Hasani reminded those present of the gains which the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, including the Albanian nationality, achieved in the armed socialist revolution, emphasizing in this connection the national question which was solved in Yugoslavia on proletarian ideology and in the spirit of the historic epoch.

Criticizing the demonstrations as the counterrevolutionary work of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, Sinan Hasani said that the exponents of this are monsters recruited from the overthrown class. This is indicated by their brutal slogans against our community and brotherhood and unity, slogans which are from positions of fascism, for behind them stand hostile Albanian emigre organizations abroad, that is, traitors of the Albanian people and traitors of the other Yugoslav nations--for example, the Ustashas who were all defeated during World War II and our revolution. ZERI I POPULLIT also gives support to such slogans, for in a country of bureaucratic Stalinist socialism such as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, nationalism and chauvinism are an integral part of that system.

In Sinan Hasani's assessment, what happened in Kosovo and what smells of hostility was neither a surprise nor a chance event, for the remnants of enemies managed--by some semilegal refined means--to indoctrinate some young people, taking advantage of their national romanticism to create nationalism.

The degree to which they succeeded in this, Hasani said, is best demonstrated by their actions of vandalism which did not even shrink from bloodshed. Now that this attack has been stopped, they are trying, by spreading various disinformation and lies, to compromise political and other measures which are being used to return order and peace to the province. They attack organs and help from other republics which is used to prevent hostile activity in Kosovo. ZERI I POPULLIT, as well as hostile emigre groups from Western Europe, are also involved in this.

Sinan Hasani spoke about the appropriateness of political action and the effectiveness of the process of differentiation up to now in the province, and noted that this process is rather difficult and slow, for it is expected that responsibility will be established by the leadership in the province. Emphasizing that no one can avoid collective and individual responsibility for everything that has happened in the province, Hasani said that the recent events need to be considered in relation to the slow development of socialist self-management relations.

Due to bureaucratism and centralism in evidence in the province, use has not been made of all the opportunities for speeding up the development of socialist self-management. The bureaucratism and centralism defeated at the federal level now make themselves felt at the provincial level. Broader-ranging involvement of working people in decision-making on vital issues of the province's development therefore did not come about; on the contrary, this decisionmaking frequently turned into formalism, or into adoption of decisions in the narrow circle of the leading cadre.

Hasani discussed the development of the university, which is not in accordance with the needs of the development of the province and of Yugoslavia, and then he mentioned the bureaucratism and liberalism of the teaching staff and the neglect of ideopolitical work. In this connection, he also criticized the adoption of a stereotyped approach, the phraseology of certain documents and analyses, underlining at the same time that the leadership's link with the base was weak, and that the political action already carried out also pointed to this problem. In this context he criticized manifestations of monopolism, careerism, attitudes of familiarity among a certain sector of the leading cadre, and also inadequate conduct on the part of this cadre sector in private life. In Hasani's opinion, this caused considerable harm to the position and authority of the leadership, for their work was of an "executive-suite" nature. However, Hasani said, it is tendentious to seek enemies in the leading cadres, and this is unacceptable, but attention should be drawn to a certain tolerance on the part of these cadres toward hostile activities which have succeeded in making their own ideopolitical platform. In addition, Hasani said, a critical and communist analysis whould be made of the ability of the provincial leadership to overcome the poliitical situation which has come about. In this context, Hasani recalled how historically justified Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work and leadership was.

Mustafa Sefedini, provincial secretary for internal affairs, stated in the discussion that in spite of a certain calm, the security situation in the province remained very complex. Hostile structures have been curbed by political activity, but still do not keep the peace, attempting to undertake new hostile actions in order to maintain the continuity of hostile and counterrevolutionary operations. A number of groups and individuals are trying to stir up unrest, as they did on the eve of 1 May in Istok. In recent days enemies have been active writing slogans, leaflets testifying to nationalism and irredentism, and have been engaging in provocations aimed at devaluing the political action which is in progress. Mustafa Sefedini advocated that action on the ideological and political levels, and also on the security level, be carried through to the end, in order to cut off the enemy and diminish his scope for action.

Mustafa Sefedini cited a series of facts describing how the security service in Kosovo had in recent years discovered the operations of the enemy, and had arrested quite a large number of people. This was a warning that hostile activity could escalate, and that foes will not shrink from graver actions.

What happened recently, therefore, was no surprise. It was the (?extent) of the demonstrations, the stubbornness and degree of organization which was surprising, not the content of the hostile action. Sefedini said that part of the responsibility for that lies with the security organs in the province, too. Albania cannot deny the unscrupulousness of its own interference, nor are we without arguments for their assertion, Sefedini emphasized, adding that the chief center was installed in Tirana, with forward positions in other towns of the world, including Kosovo. He quoted details about the unfavorable situation in regard to numbers, and the insufficient state of equipment of the security organs in Kosovo, and in this context pointed to the importance of the assistance which came from other republics and from Vojvodina. "Let no one live under the illusion--and certainly not ZERI I POPULLIT--that Kosovo's security is the affair of the Kosovo security organs alone," Sefedini stressed. All defend the integrity of Yugoslavia, the entire system of all-people's defense and social self-protection, and this we do and shall continue to do very energetically and effectively.

In conclusion, Sefedini also stated his readiness to bear the consequences of those omissions and weaknesses evinced by the security service, as a member of the provincial committee and member of the LCY.

Lazar Vujovic then took part in the discussion, stating in a condensed assessment his opinion that the basic causes for the recent event lie in the fact that the struggle against the manifestations of Albanian nationalism, which has long been in evidence, was not waged to a sufficient degree. Evaluation of the manifestations was lacking, and the specific factors of nationalism, especially in culture and education, were not pointed out to a sufficient degree. The flames of greater Albanian nationalism and chauvinism were thereby fanned among the young, and national romanticism was glorified. The generalized condemnation of nationalism and irredentism, Vujovic went on, was not enough to create in the organization and among the members of the League of Communists an atmosphere and climate for ideological and political differentiation and for a line to be drawn restricting nationalism and its factors. Lazar Vujovic considered that it was for this reason that in considerable sectors of the League of Communists it came about that the criteria were lost regarding what national affirmation and nationalism are.

The lack of vigilance favored the enemy, who was able to work systematically and to sow distrust among the nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

Lazar Vujovic insisted that the extent to which the enemy succeeded in his actions among the young should be established and assessed, and that an overall analysis of what happened should help to accomplish differentiation, and help to show where the omissions and inconsistencies lie.

In Vujovic's opinion, the students and secondary school pupils of Kosovo are not to blame for the inadequate schooling system, nor for the textbooks brought from Albania and the lecturers from Tirana who engaged in politics here, too. The students and schoolchildren are not to blame for the fact that cultural groups and delegations from Albania sought--something which was granted them--that portraits of Comrade Tito should be removed as a precondition for performances to be given or for bus trips to be started.

Vujovic went on to say that the League of Communists had never provided a complete political qualification of the events in 1968, when the slogan "Kosovo--a republic" was launched. If we had done so, the enemy would not have been able to mobilize those whom it mobilized.

This should also have been done because the lecturers who in 1968 spoke in favor of Kosovo being a republic continue to hold lectures for students.

Lazar Vujovic said that it was not clear to him why the 28th provincial committee sessions held in June 1971 had been quickly forgotten. This session discussed nationalism and the exodus of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Conclusions correctly appraised these matters, but instead of persistence being shown in implementing them, they were not even mentioned again. Vujovic also said that it was not clear to him why those who at that time drew attention to the manifestations of nationalism and to the exodus of the Serbs and Montenegrins were described as exponents of the dogmatic line who were trying to sow dissent among the nationalities of Kosovo.

My aim is not to accuse anybody in this connection, Vujovic said, but to see and understand those failures and cases of inconclusiveness which created the scope for the intensification of Albanian nationalism. Vujovic advocated the preparation of a program of constant ideopolitical struggle and ideological offensive aimed at thoroughly unmasking the enemy and his aims and strengthening the revolutionary spirit of the members of the League of Communists and the working masses. Lazar Vujovic said that even now there were cases of Serbs and Montenegrins leaving Kosovo and that one had to speak about that. The way out of this was to stabilize conditions in Kosovo and put an effective stop to the chauvinists who are inciting people. However, in this connection there is also a need for additional activities of the Kosovo League of Communists and the Serbian League of Communists, to prevent this phenomenon assuming a mass character.

Ramo Alihajdari, president of the Council of the Trade Union Federation of Kosovo, stressed that the working class and working people of Kosovo condemned and were condemning the activity of the enemy. Readiness to carry out everyday work tasks, especially those in production, was the best reply of the workers to the enemy and its actions. Alihajdari said that the process of differentiation started at trade union meetings as well, but that differentiation was not yet energetic enough. In the view of the president of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Kosovo, it is indispensable to analyze more carefully the way a number of workers had also come to take part in hostile demonstrations. He considers that these are workers with an insufficiently active attitude to production and that they are to be found in those organizations of associated labor in which hotbeds of the nationalist activity have already manifested themselves on previous occasions.

Stressing that the trade unions had not involved themselves sufficiently especially in social activities and at the university, Ramo Alihajdari said that wherever there was a gap between attitudes and practice the work of the leadership could not be appraised in positive terms.

Dragan Markovic, president of the Prizren League of Communists Municipal Conference, who was the next speaker in the discussion, expressed the view that recent events showed that in a number of environments party organizations were unprepared for and unable to suppress the hostile activity. He pointed out that in places there was also open opportunism and a tendency to underestimate the phenomena of nationalist character. This was particularly noticeable wherever the nationalists had already been noisy before. Markovic stressed that intranational relations in Prizren were good and that there was no exodus of the Serbs from the town. He said, inter alia, that Prizren had been among the first to start cultural cooperation with Albania. However, the sincere wishes and hospitality extended to them were countered by visitors from Albania with propaganda aimed at promoting nationalism and undermining intranational relations.

Redzep Hamiti, president of the Gnjilane League of Communists Municipal Conference, expressed himself to be in agreement with the appraisal according to which the demonstrations had given rise to a very complex political-security situation in the province.

Speaking about the extent of the political action which was now in progress, he stressed that a passive attitude was at times displayed among communists toward manifestations of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and that the process of differentiation was not proceeding smoothly. This was particularly pronounced in the case of schools and the thesis that these "excesses" were allegedly being described too dramatically. This was characteristic in particular of those who maintained an inert and opportunist attitude during visits paid by cultural-artistic groups from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Now that I am talking about this, Hamiti noted, I would like to point out the manifestation of a certain attitude by some of our judiciary organs, whose verdicts returned to their workposts a number of persons who had been replaced owing to their unsuitable moral-political qualities. Some of the leading cadres often intervened in favor of these people, according to Hamiti, thus causing some of the courts to lose their autonomy and political responsibility and submit themselves to privatization and bureaucratism. The action of differentiation, Hamiti stressed, must therefore not ignore these organs and any of those who behaved in an irresponsible manner with regard to our equality in the course of cultural and other forms of cooperation with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

As an example, I hear that that the man who tried to persuade us to cover Comrade Tito's picture during a visit from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is now being proposed for the post of director of Kosovo's museum of the revolution. I am using this opportunity, Redzep Haniti said from the provincial committee's dais, to state openly that I am against such a proposal, as I am against all those who behaved in an inferior manner during the exchange and cooperation with our neighbors.

At the beginning of his speech in the discussion, Kolu Siroka asked why the analysis of the events of 11 March, the day of the first demonstrations, had not taken into account the views expressed the appraisals made by Veli Deva, Azem Vlasi, Aslam Fazlija and others, who had already referred to the enemy's orientation and the essence of these first demonstrations. Kolj Siroka recalled that as early as 11 March it was possible to see the aims and essence of the hostile activity and identify its standard bearers and exponents.

He then spoke about the perfidious forms of and means used in the hostile attacks with the aim of causing general confusion and disorientation in the political activity of the League of Communists and the organs of the province. The enemy was now using national costumes and coercion in order to "mobilize the nationalities again." These and other methods were known for a long time and were always used by the most reactionary renegades of every society, Siroka said.

Room should also be found in the analysis of the events and their protagonists for the information that participants also included people who hate work and want to make a profit from and live on the work of others and who are bad even for their own families. The majority of the students who acted as instigators and who took part in hostile activity, Kolj Siroka said, have been students 8, 9 or more years. They have enough money and no one knows from where, travel around Europe, misuse our social resources and yet demand some "conditions" and "rights." Among them are some who fled from the countryside to avoid work and want to exploit the work of others. These problems, Kolj Siroka said, are created as early as during elementry education, which is completed too easily by pupils, who then go on to secondary education and finally the university, where they can become exponents of someone's dark aims. [passage indistinct]

Bajram Seljani, president of the Municipal Conference of the Vucitrn League of Communists, said that measures to determine the most specific differentiation possible are now being undertaken by the organizations of the League of Communists in this municipality.

These measures however, are proceeding with difficulty, especially in those environments where the factors of nationalistic manifestations have not been totally uncovered and identified. The organizers of demonstrations, as Seljani stressed, are from those families which as far back as the national liberation struggle and in all post-war years showed themselves to be enemies of our community.

Seluani cited the fact that over the past 33 days in the Vucitrn municipality only one instance had been registered of appearance of hostile slogans, but this does not mean that there is room for the delusion that the enemy has been totally eradicated.

Albanian foreign policy over recent years, Saban Hiseni said, has more than ever before reflected the compromise between two basic interests: true national interest and the needs prescribed by more profound changes in foreign policy and opening up toward the world, without which there can be no accelerated development of the country and of its security against outside danger; and the interest of the regime, which sees precisely in accelerated and [word indistinct] satisfaction of these needs the chief danger for its positions and concepts. The roots of the policy of autarachy and of isolationism conducted for decades by the Albanian leadership lie in this and in the relatively underdeveloped level of Albania. The example of Socialist Yugoslavia, Hiseni went on, its conception of socialist self-management, our results on the socioeconomic and political level, our economic policy and relations, and in particular Yugoslavia's international position and authority thanks to its nonaligned policy--these are the sources of the Albanian leadership's fear and suspicion of the "dangerous" effect of that example upon the internal conditions and relations between the forces in the country. Hence in Albanian propaganda "Yugoslav revisionism" is constantly the most dangerous enemy, the "danger" emphasized by the leadership whenever it wishes to neutralize unfavorable internal trends or to place a barrier against the development of Yugoslav-Albanian relations which exceed the set limits and, in their assessment, have a negative influence upon domestic relations in Albanian.

It is beyond all doubt, Hiseni stressed, that alongside unfavorable economic trends, a most important influence was exerted upon the growth of opposition moods in Albania by greater communication with the world and especially with Yugoslavia, that is, with Kosovo.

Yugoslav-Albanian relations have been burdened with contradictions for many years. Nationalism and irredentism are the means continually employed by the Albanian leadership in its policy against us, depending on its internal and international needs. In this context, the Albanian leadership--that is, Albanian propaganda--using the recent disorders in Kosovo for its own ends, wishes to influence the Albanian nationality to become a factor in splitting Yugoslavia, which the Albanian leadership includes among the most reactionary forces in the world. This [word indistinct] is interested in wrecking the Yugoslav federal community.

Speaking about bilateral relations, Hiseni stressed that Yugoslav-Albanian relations must not be restricted purely to cooperation between Kosovo and Albania, for that would be a shortsighted policy.

Bogoljub Nedeljkovic said that it is a fact that the League of Communists in Kosovo is operating in specific conditions brought about by the greater problems resulting from the inherited backwardness of the area and by its multinational composition. However, it is also a fact that opportunism in the struggle against the enemy, in particular against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, is present. Not only were we not vigilant enough but we also did not deal consistently with enemy forces, both in 1968 and 1971.

At that time the question of the republic was raised, but we did not settle the matter, and so those forces organized themselves and now we are again encountering them. In the same vein, we wanted to minimize some phenomena and allowed people to take up some delicate posts who did not deserve to do so. Furthermore, we did not sufficiently separate the nationalist from the nationalistic. We did not have enough criteria. We merely verbally condemned nationalism, and of course, this did not harm it. In our desire to have a good situation we made assessments about the political security situation which were untenable.

Nedeljkovic went on to say that we also underestimated some deliberate actions by Albania in our desire to develop good relations with it, which we also want today but not in this way. They abused our wish, while our democratic system made it possible for them to worm their way into some social pores. We allowed--and this is really a shame for all of us--some to take down Tito's picture in order to satisfy the demand of visitors from Tirana. During working time we even closed schools to go on a visit to Albania.

How was it possible that such a large number of students and pupils took part in the demonstrations and in enemy activity? This question, Bajazit Nusi asked, is all the more justified if one bears in mind the enormous scientific-cultural and artistic values achieved in Kosovo thanks to the policy of the LCY and our self-managing society.

Predrag Cuckio first noted that Kosovo had realized a socioeconomic development after the war of a kind not possible in any other society. However, we also have considerable weaknesses and difficulties, including subjective ones--above all, insufficient readiness to call some phenomena by their right names and to efficiently oppose them.

Attitudes have not been implemented, and nobody has been called to account for this. The economic structure has not been altered in order to strengthen that part of industry which provides more employment and greater income.

We are facing historical obligations to explain thoroughly the essence, causes and consequences of the hostile events, Azem Vlasi said at the beginning. We owe this obligation both to the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia and to all the peoples and nationalities of our country. Vlasi also asked how it was possible that 36 years after the common liberation struggle and socialist revolution, a part of the young people who grew up under socialist self-management were indoctrinated with a nationalist ideology to a fanatic degree. In reply to this question, Azem Vlasi noted that national romanticism and an uncritical presentation of historical myths and personalities began to come to the fore, and the aspect of intensifying the togetherness and other essential values of our socialist society were neglected when the Marxist approach was being neglected. All this was intensified by dogmatic and ideological propaganda from Albania. Teachers did not oppose this and some of them openly supported or propagated alien ideology. We have faced a euphoric development of studies at the university. The admission policy has not been respected so that now we hardly know who is in the faculty, what some students are engaged in and what they are doing, Vlasi further said. He stressed that the responsibility for all this is primarily borne by the League of Communists and the leaderships. With the penetration of nationalism into teaching and in the faculty, the quality of teaching has fallen, Vlasi said and added that the occurrence of obtaining grades through connections, threats and blackmail has been gaining prominence. Vlasi remarked that along with the objective separation of teaching in the mother tongues, children and pupils belonging to various peoples and nationalities were also being separated where it was unnecessary, ranging from day nurseries up to free activities at all levels of schooling. Pointing out that a number of teachers who even in 1968 adopted the positions of nationalism continue to work in faculties, Vlasi stated that some of them have taken leading positions in education and other activities.

Vlasi also said that the enemy used and misused the norms of self-management, especially in employment and cadre policies. We only noted these occurrences in forums, without taking any measures to solve them successfully, Vlasi stressed.

During the course of the afternoon sitting of today's session of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists, Mahmut Bakali, president of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists, resigned from the post he has hitherto occupied.

This time I shall speak briefly, Bakali said, given that, as I said at the last session of the provincial committee and on several occasions in the past few days, I concur with the evaluations regarding the hostile and counterrevolutionary nature of the demonstrations emanating from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. I also agree with the assessments of the causes which are put forward in the documents of the working group, in Ali Sukrija's opening report and in the discussions. On the basis of all these assessments and of those which will be put forward tomorrow and the day after tomorrow in the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee and in the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium of the provincial committee must draw up a program of action and specific measures which are to be adopted by the provincial committee at its next session. These measures concern not only the further stabilization of the political situation in the province; they should also be undertaken in the League of Communists, other sociopolitical organizations and all our organs and institutions in order to overcome weaknesses and to alter our political practice. Among the questions that should be addressed is differentiation of responsibility. It is a good thing that we are today speaking primarily about our own weaknesses, particularly about the weaknesses of the League of Communists itself which constitute one of the reasons for the breakthrough of the Albanian nationalism and irredentism that erupted so abruptly in demonstrations with hostile and counterrevolutionary aims.

I shall not speak about the causes and real culprits of these events since enough has been said about them today, and we have discussed them previously. It will be necessary, however, for us to make our assessments more profound later on. I shall not speak about the internal and external enemy, nor shall I speak of the subversive propaganda activity from Albania by means of which they have tried to manipulate our young people from nationalist and irredentist positions and to indoctrinate them with clear territorial claims against our country, abusing our good intentions and motives for cooperation, our readiness for and the breadth of that cooperation. I shall therefore not speak at length, for we have already discussed this and shall do so again in the future. The Albanian leadership bears the responsibility for such abuses of our cooperation, for the fate of our cooperation in the future, and I believe that at some time or other it will have to answer to the Albanian people for those treacherous abuses which are in contradiction to the genuine interests of the Albanian people. However, I shall not speak of these things outside of our ranks, given that I and other comrades have spoken a lot recently and that there has also been discussion in today's provincial committee session.

I wish to emphasize and back up the assessment that the League of Communists of Kosovo bears responsibility for these events. This I also emphasized at the session of the provincial committee Presidium.

We have often stressed that the Kosovo League of Communists conducts the unified policy of the LCY in the development of socialist self-managing relations, national equality and brotherhood and unity in complex social, economic, political and historical conditions burdened by inherited contradictions and consciousness as well as by the contradictions born of our tumultuous development. For this reason we have often emphasized that the Kosovo League of Communists must by its actions and capability be at the level of the leading ideopolitical force in such specific conditions and contradictions in our province.

In spite of the correct ideopolitical orientation of the Kosovo League of Communists and the provincial committee, which in my opinion accords with the orientation and policy of the LCY, it is noticeable that in implementing that policy in many environments in the province, the League of Communists has fallen far below the level of capability and responsibility essential for accomplishing its revolutionary role in the contradictions and conditions of Kosovo. If the organizations, organs and members of the League of Communists do not get down to business in a revolutionary and effective way in everyday struggle and practice to resolve contradictions and to overcome the inherited conservative consciousness in the struggle against nationalism of any form and against antiself-management and antisocialist tendencies, then not only is scope opened up for the operation of these tendencies, but the League of Communists itself if burdened with this consciousness and with these negative tendencies: nationalism, opportunism and liberalism.

It is evident that our Kosovo League of Communists is in many environments burdened by these negative things, and from this derives its lack of effectiveness in stamping out the nationalist, irredentist and hostile activity in various forms. This activity had also appeared before in these most brutal forms which characterized the most recent hostile demonstrations. Although we have achieved major results in international relations, especialy in the affirmation of the Albanian nationality, the League of Communists has not been sufficiently vigilant, committed and energetic in opposing nationalism--particularly Albanian nationalism and irredentism--which operates against brotherhood and unity, against the Serbia and Montengrin peoples, and against other nationalities in Yugoslavia.

This means that in our international policy we have not proceeded to a sufficient degree from the class-Marxist aspect, from which aspect alone can the Albanian nationality be affirmed and its trust in and brotherhood and unity with other peoples be strengthened. It is accordingly we in the Kosovo League of Communists who bear the responsibility for the breakthrough of Albanian nationalism and irredentism which we noticed before, and indeed appraised, but against which we fought with insufficient energy. The relatively large number of school children and students who were so easily taken in by the demagogic slogans of the enemy in the demonstrations does not reflect the real orientation of our young people, and it is not the young people's fault, nor does it even reflect the ability of the enemy, who is the chief culprit; it reflects primarily our lack of commitment in political and educational work with young people and our inability to prevent the enemy from manipulating the youth sector.

This is the responsibility of the League of Communists. We were not effective in overcoming in the system of education and upbringing, in schools and faculties, a certain haphazardness in development and certain negative nationalist and irredentist trends in the process of education and upbringing of the young and in cultural life, historiography and a number of other spheres which have been penetrated by nationalist and irredentist concepts and conduct; and we have not undertaken the necessary measures and actions. Responsibility for this state of affairs, Bakali went on, also lies with other sociopolitical organizations, selfmanagement organs, delegate assemblies, state organs, the security organs, organs of our system of all-people's defense and social self-protection and other organs and leaderships in the province, municipalities and in many institutions which were inefficient in their work and insufficiently committed to realizing and implementing the policy of the League of Communists. Their responsibility means primarily the responsibility of the communists in them, but also the responsibility of the League of Communists as a whole and of its organs, because we did not insist that they work more effectively, we did not proffer them sufficient help to make them capable of effective work, and we did not call them to account for ineffectiveness in implementing the standpoints of the League of Communists. This also relates to a lack of commitment on the part of the Socialist Alliance and the Federation of Socialist Youth in work with the masses, particularly with young people. In the final analysis, however, the responsibility lies with the League of Communists.

I have spoken at greater length about these and other omissions in the work of the Kosovo League of Communists, Mahmut Bakali stressed, in the Presidium of the provincial committee, and I agree with the criticisms which have been put forward in today's discussion. At sessions of the Presidium of the provincial committee, criticism and self-criticism underlined the responsibility of the Presidium of the provincial committee itself which in the method and content of its operations was burdened by work in forums and was insufficiently committed to the debating and undertaking of effective measures to implement its standpoints and the standpoints of the provincial committee, particularly as regards the capacities of organizations and leaderships of the League of Communists. For this reason the Presidium, the provincial committee and municipal committees and the basic organizations of the League of Communists must change the way in which they operate. By such operations and actions the League of Communists will come through even stronger, trust in it will be even greater among our working people in the province and in Yugoslavia and we shall bring back and strengthen trust and brotherhood and unity among our nations and nationalities.

I am convinced that I, as president of the provincial committee of the League of Communists objectively bear the greatest burden of responsibility for all these shortcomings and criticisms directed at the League of Communists at Kosovo, because I was not sufficiently vigilant to make a more critical assessment of certain trends and because even when I did make an assessment of certain matters and spoke about them I was not energetic in ensuring that measures were undertaken and that action was seen through to its completion. I genuinely feel this responsibility and I am ready and able to play an active part not only in overcoming the situation which has newly arisen, but also in further consolidating in a revolutionary way the League of Communists and in eliminating my own failings as a communist.

Recently, Mahmut Bakali went on, I sincerely, critically and self-critically raised before my other comrades, before the Presidium of the provincial committee and before the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee the question of my resignation from the post of president of the provincial committee, for I was convinced of the personal political responsibility which I bear for the situation which has arisen and considered that this could facilitate and encourage our actions. I was told that what we need is effective action and that it was not the time for resignations, so I therefore carried on together with other comrades.

At the last session of the Presidium of the provincial committee I repeated my request to resign from the post of president of the provincial committee, convinced of my responsibility and sure that this would facilitate the more efficient work of the Presidium and provincial committee, that it would help and encourage the action of the Kosovo League of Communists. The Presidium of the provincial committee agreed to my request, and today I beg the provincial committee to accept my resignation from the post of president of the provincial committee because of the personal political responsibility which I feel for the state of affairs which has come about. I assure you, Bakali emphasized, that I shall remain consistent in the determined and specific implementation of the policy of the LCY, and in action toward putting into practice the policy of the LCY and of Comrade Tito, and also the assessments and standpoints which the provincial committee will adopt.

We shall later have the opportunity of going further into the question of political responsibility and of undertaking other disciplinary measures provided for by the Statute of the League of Communists within the framework of ideopolitical differentiation.

I am ready, Bakali said, to shoulder the responsibility before you whenever you think fit for my whole ideopolitical work in the capacity of president of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee for more than 10 years.

Accordingly, by my resignation from the post as president of the provincial committee I do not shirk the other degrees of political responsibility for my actions or for the actions of the provincial leadership, because every degree of responsibility of the provincial leadership, which Comrade Sinan Hasani has elaborated in a rather complicated fashion, and every responsibility for the decisions of the provincial committee over the last 10 years is in fact my own personal political responsibility as, accordingly, is the responsibility for the assessments of the provincial committee session of 1971 and their implementation, something which was stressed by Comrade Lazar Vujovic. What has been achieved in a positive sense during these 10 years will be assessed by the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo League of Communists and by time and practice. I am therefore ready, Mahmut Bakali said in conclusion, to bear the greatest political responsibility, but I beg you to accept today my resignation from the post of president of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists.

After the resignation of the former president of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists had been accepted, discussion was continued about the causes and consequences of the recent hostile events in Kosovo.

Ferat Imeri spoke about the hostile demonstrations in Glogovac in which a number of students at the secondary school centre too part on 2 April. These were mainly pupils with poor examination results, and the majority of them were those whose parents and families are known as having been enemies of our self-managing system, both in the national liberation war as well as in all later periods. Imeri underlined that wide-ranging ideo-political action is at present being conducted in Glogovac to uncover those responsible for the hostile demonstrations. Thus in the Glogovac school center and in the primary school in the village of Orlat, the basic organizations of the League of Communists and the self-management organs of these schools have been disbanded and an official administration has been put in. Eight workers have been suspended and 19 members have been expelled from the municipality's League of Communists.

Mihajlo Zvicer advocated democratic, open struggles of opinions on all issues, even on those which some consider to be taboo topics. He stressed that the Kosovo League of Communists must make a particular review of phenomena which have a profound effect on intranational relations. We have up till now not classified these phenomena correctly, but they relate to employment, equitable use of language, emigration from Kosovo, and so forth.

It is necessary to put the question of emigration, which is raised from time to time, on the agenda of the Kosovo League of Communists and to make complete, accurate and all-embracing assessments of this problem in order not to leave scope for enemies and nationalists of all hues to make use of it. [TANJUG transmission ends at this point, leaving item apparently incomplete]

Dragosavac Address

LD052256 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2131 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Pristina, 5 May (TANJUG)--Presidency Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Dusan Dragosavac today urged closer contact between LC organizations and the working people and people in general. "We need this in order to act more effectively," Dragosavac said at today's session of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee, devoted to the causes and consequences of the recent nationalist unrest in the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

"We must strengthen our socio-political activity, systematically unmask the enemy and show to him that nobody can dictate boundaries between our republics and provinces or (the boundaries) (?of) Yugoslavia," Dragosavac said.

Dragosavac said that note must be made of how reactionary the slogan of a greater Albania is, a slogan "which, as has been established also at the meeting in Pristina, is advocated both by the Albanian Labour Party leadership and Albanian fascists in emigration," Dragosavac said.

Dusan Dragosavac said that Yugoslavia is interested in equality-based cooperation with all countries and, naturally, neighbouring countries too. He noted, however, that it is essential to draw a lesson from (?hitherto) cooperation with Albania and underlined that cooperation with Albania must be developed "solely on the basis of reciprocity." There have been deviation from this principles in the past and they account for cases which we have had of certain individuals from Albania "having behaved here (in our country) as if they were in [words indistinct]," he said.

Dragosavac stressed that it must not [words indistinct] Yugoslavia's principled position in international relations "does not [word indistinct] certain reactionary forces." Some want to destabilize Yugoslavia in order to weaken its influence in the world and its struggle against injustice in international relations, Dragosavac said.

Dragosavac urged the further strengthening of the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav nation and nationalities.

He assessed as positive the opening address and the diccussion at the provincial committee session. "The opening address and (?discussion), Dragosavac said, were directed to spur a further political action for suppressing nationalism. It is important that we develop criticism and self-criticism and it is good that this has been in evidence at the plenum, Dragosavac said. Dragosavac underlined that the meeting of Kosovo communists has shown that the League of Communists, together with all organized socialist forces, wages an uncompromising struggle against nationalism.

New President Elected

LD052232 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2153 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Pristina, 5 May (TANJUG)--Member of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee Veli Deva was elected new president of the provincial committee for a one-year term at the session of the Kosovo party provincial committee here this evening. Prior to Veli Deva's election, the provincial committee (?acceded to) the resignation from the post of Mahmut Bakali, submitted during the session this afternoon.

Veli Deva (58) is a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee and president of the Provincial (?Social Council) for the Economic Development of Kosovo.

Veli Deva, born in Djakovica in 1923, was an active participant in the people's liberation struggle from 1941. He was admitted to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1942. During the war, he took part also in the liberation struggle on Albanian territory. After the liberation, Veli Deva held various socio-political posts in the Province of Kosovo and Yugoslavia. He was a member of the Kosovo Provincial Executive Council, member of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee and member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee. He was also deputy to the Federal Assembly Federal Chamber. From 1965 to 1972 he was president of the League of Communists of the Kosovo Provincial Conference.

In addition to the "partisan 1941 Medal", Veli Deva holds a number of other high Yugoslav orders, including the Order of Brotherhood and Unity of the second order, the Order of Service to the People of the second order and the Order of the Republic with silver wreath.

Veli Deva is of Albanian nationality.

Session Concludes

AU061040 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 5 May 81

[Excerpt] Milos Vujakovic was the next to take part in the discussion. He advocated that all those who were in any way prominent in hostile activities be expelled from the League of Communists and from work, especially in education. (Sol Madzeraj) spoke about hostile activities in the Istok commune, which were particularly prominent recently, as well as about the actions taken to unmask the enemy. He referred critically to the lack of vigilance and ability to find a solution by the communal leadership and organs in combatting hostile activities that had been announced in advance.

Jakub Sabani spoke about the escalation of hostile activities in Podujevo. He said that in unmasking the enemy, any silence is in fact a tacit agreement with or indirect support for the enemy.

The speech by Fadilj Hodza was greeted with a stormy applause. He assessed the session today as a great political discussion characterized by a pronouncedly critical approach to all the open questions. In Fadilj Hodza's assessment, they looked the truth in the eye so as to remedy the situation both in Kosovo and throughout the country as soon as possible, for which the communists of the province bear a great responsibility.

The greatest shortcomings are in schools, Fadilj Hodza said. He added that it is expected of educational workers that they become involved to the maximum so that the situation may be settled. Fadilj Hodza sharply reproached the teaching personnel at the university and secondary schools for not speaking out and for not declaring what they are, for they cannot sit on the fence.

Ali Sukrija pointed out that the cadre policy at the university was for the most part incorrectly conducted and that this considerably affected the present political situation at the university.

The session continues.

[At the conclusion of the newscast at about 2140 GMT, Belgrade Radio announces: "During this newscast we received the report that the session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo has concluded."]

Hodza Assesses Meeting

LD060654 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2300 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Pristina, 5 May (TANJUG)--League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency member Fadilj Hodza assessed the discussion at today's session of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee as a realistic facing of the truth with a view to determining the directions of action for overcoming the situation following the recent nationalist unrests. Fadilj Hodza said that everything points to the conclusion that the greatest weaknesses were manifested in schools and at the university.

During today's detailed discussion and also in earlier analyses of the causes of the regretful events in the province we have [words indistinct] teachers and professors [words indistinct] in fact the least explanation of what was taking place in schools and at the university, Fadilj Hodza noted.

Fadilj Hodza said that those teaching at the university and in schools must not calmly observe attempts at belittling the achievements recorded in Kosovo over many years of its dynamic development. Hodza said that all well-meaning people in Kosovo, including the parents of pupils and students, rightly expect educational workers to engage themselves in overcoming the accumulated shortcomings at the university and in schools.

There are probably among educational workers those [words indistinct] not on the line of the League of Communists but let them be honest and say do they share the views of the organizers of the demonstrations or are they their oponents, Fadilj Hodza said.

Referring to the education system, Fadilj Hodza noted that it is the most natural for both the Albanian and Serbo-Croatian languages to be mandatory subjects in multi-national Kosovo.

The newly-elected provincial committee President Veli Deva also this evening noted that the only deficiency of the discussion at today's session was that nobody from the University of Pristina critically reviewed the situation at the university.

Veli Deva stressed that the "basic front of action of the LC of Kosovo will be the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism."

The situation at the University of Pristina was the subject of a polemic between several participants in today's discussion.

Dr Dervis Rozaja, member of the university organization of the League of Communists, stated that one of the reasons for the participation of a larger number of students in the recent demonstrations should be sought in "certain ethnopsychological and socio-psychological moments." He maintains that the university in Pristina "is [words indistinct] and reflection of its environment." Dr Rozaja cited that 71.2 percent of the professors, 65.5 percent of assistant lecturers, 71 percent of doctors of sciences and 75.4 percent of masters of sciences at the University of Pristina are of Albanian nationality.

Svetomir Stozinic, himself a university professor, said that the figures cited by Dr Rozaja give a distorted picture of the actual situation at the University of Pristina. "It must be ensured," Professor Stozinic said, "for each working man and student to exercise his constitutional and national rights."

Dusan Ristic said that not enough care is given at the university to the quality of the teaching staff and added that at some university faculties there are manifestations of familiarity and factionalism and also cases of inadequate attention to national quality.

Criticizing the explanation given by Dr Rozaja of the causes which led to the participation of the young in the recent demonstrations, Ali Sukrija underlined that Dr Rozaja's approach is unacceptable to communists here today and also on earlier occasions we have assessed that counterrevolutionary ideas were the core of the demonstrations and that the objective was the undermining of the system of the brotherhood and unity and of the achievements of the revolution," Sukrija said. [quotation marks as received]

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Support

AU051733 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 May 81

[Ljubomir Nikolic report]

[Text] At its session in Sarajevo today the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina expressed its full support for the recent actions and measures of the League of Communists of Kosovo, the League of Communists of Serbia and the LCY. The Central Committee concluded that, despite the favorable political situation in the republic, what is needed are constant vigilance, constant persistence in overcoming difficulties in the republic's own development and struggle against nationalism in the republic's own community. The Central Committee also adopted a decision on the 1-year term of office for the president of the Central Committee and the 2-year term of office for the secretary of the Central Committee. Ljubomir Nikolic reports from Sarajevo:

The report of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina has been very well received among the league's members and its essence is related to the current activities in the struggle to constantly strengthen the brotherhood and unity, the national equality and other achievements of the revolution. The communists and the working people of this republic have also expressed this time their determination to preserve and defend the country's freedom and independence, convinced that solutions for the existing difficulties and problems will be quickly found. The events in Kosovo have justly attracted the attention of the Bosnia-Hercegovina public. The working people and citizens have understood that what is involved is planned and organized action by external and internal enemies. They have expressed their full support for the actions and measures of the League of Communists of Kosovo, the League of Communists of Serbia and the LCY.

Even though the political situation in the republic is favorable, it would be illusory to think that there are no latent dangers that could disrupt the existing political situation, because the enemy has never rested nor will it rest in the future, it was stated at the session in Sarajevo.

Constant vigilance, a creative contribution by Bosnia-Hercegovina to overcoming the difficult situation at the present stage of Yugoslavia's development, and incessant struggle to eliminate shortcomings in the republic's own development are the most reliable ways of resisting all enemies of Yugoslavia. Those elements and situations that, at a certain time, could represent a source of discontent and of disrupting the political, intranational and total socialist relations must be most responsibly and thoroughly analyzed in all communities. That analysis now in progress, it was stated at the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

It was pointed out in conclusion that informing the working people and citizens in good time on foreign and domestic developments must be accorded an even more prominent place in the methods and substance of work of the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance.

VLASKALIC ADDRESSES SERBIAN LC ON KOSOVO EVENTS

LD061038 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0950 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)--The League of Communists of the Yugoslav Constituent Republic Serbia Central Committee session which opened here this morning is exclusively devoted to the causes and consequences of the events in the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo. LC of Serbia Central Committee Presidency President Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic stressed in his introductory statement that yesterday's session of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee, today's session of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee and tomorrow's session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee are to provide "a concrete platform of action for the stabilization of the political situation" in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo which is part of the Constituent Republic of Serbia. Dr Vlaskalic urged the Central Committee members "to be fully open, critical and self-critical" and underlined that a "class struggle for preserving and further developing the achievements of our (Yugoslav) socialist revolution in a part of the country" is involved.

LEADERS COMMEMORATE TITO'S DEATH WITH SPEECHES

Ljubicic Speech

LD051040 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 4 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May (TANJUG)--A commemorative session of the SFRY armed forces was held today in the hall of the Yugoslav People's Army in connection with the anniversary of the death of the greatest son of our nations and nationalities, Comrade Tito.

Military leaders, officers and civilians serving in the Yugoslav People's Armed attended the commemorative gathering. After Col Gen Dane Cuic opened the session and tribute was paid by observing a minute of silence, federal secretary for national defense, Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic spoke about the revolutionary work and personality of Comrade Tito.

For the past year we have had to face the fact that we must live and create without Tito, whose revolutionary ideas and work have remained an integral part of our life and a source of permanent inspirations, zeal, courage, self-confidence, wisdom and vital optimism, Nikola Ljubicic emphasized. Tito is gone, but he lives in every sphere of our society, in every institution of our socio-political system, in every unit of our armed forces and in the hearts of millions of Yugoslavs. Tito's Yugoslavia lives. It has been forged in the fire of war and revolution in accordance with the measure and will of each of our nations and nationalities, whose every stage of development has been marked by Comrade Tito.

The past year, Army General Ljubicic continued, has been burdened by great dangers to world peace and has been very complex in regard to economic and political relations. However, although it was not easy for us without Comrade Tito, our socialist self-managing society continues consistently to follow his revolutionary road in all areas of life and work to solve the greatest tasks facing our community.

It is true, Nikola Ljubicic said, that there are people who expected and hoped that the role of our community and of Yugoslavia in international life would be weakened after Tito. However, our life and creative activity since last May have shown the whole world that there is no "period after Tito" because Yugoslavia remains Tito's Yugoslavia. It remains a powerful socialist country in which the same ideo-political climate, the same philosophical thought and the same essence of socialist self-management prevails.

Nikola Ljubicic then said that all our activities in the international community are based on the same commitments which we, led by Tito, made during the revolution and the struggle for the complete autonomy of our revolutionary movement and socialist social transportation and against all forms of pressure and interference from outside. These are facts, the federal secretary for national defense noted, which cannot be suppressed even by the real difficulties which we face in the sphere of economic activitiy and in the development of self-managing relations and which we are striving to solve as quickly as possible by mobilizing under the leadership of the League of Communists all socialist subjective forces in society. We will solve them because we know the true origin of our economic problems. Above all, he emphasized, these problems are the result of our inordinate desire to overcome our backwardness as rapidly as possible and to reach the level of the industrially developed countries of the world whose historical conditions were more favorable for development than were ours.

Emphasizing the need always to be prepared to deal with any attack on the integrity of our country, Nikola Ljubicic said that, from its inception in the recent and distant past, our homeland has always been exposed to the attempts of enemies of various stripes to create friction among us and to subjugate us in these turbulent Balkans where wars have caused widespread destruction. The same also applies to the new Yugoslavia. Comrade Tito often warned us that various hostile elements would not leave us in peace. They are still trying to do this, just a year after Comrade Tito's death, by complicating the situation in Kosovo. This is understandable, Army General Ljubicic added, if we bear in mind that a strong and powerful Yugoslavia is an obstacle to the world's various dark forces. Therefore, these forces will always try to prevent us from building a better and happier future and from traveling along this road.

We must always remember this, especially today when we are living at a time of various threats to world peace, at a time in which existing contradictions are deepening and new hotbeds of crisis are erupting, at a time in which enormous amounts of money are being spent to produce ever more destructive weapons, and at a time which military force is being used as an instrument to achieve imperialist and hegemonistic aims through open threats, direct engagement or attempts to destabilize individual countries. Therefore, the defense of freedom and independence has become the most important issue in the lives of small and medium-size countries, especially in the lives of those which are in the strategic military and economic zones of interest of the superpowers and military-political blocs, the federal secretary for national defence stressed.

Everything that Comrade Tito bequeathed to us in regard to the organization of the country's defense forces and of the millions-strong masses for armed struggle and resistance should an aggressor try to encroach on our freedom and peace is invaluable for consistently implementing the policy of peace and for resisting the policy of aggression, war and pressure of all kinds, Nikola Ljubicic emphasized. He added that this teaching by Comrade Tito provides us with lasting inspiration for the preservation of the freedom, independence and integrity of our socialist community and for the constant progress of our revolution.

Army General Ljubicic selected only a few basic strategic principles from among Tito's rich theoretical and revolutionary work, principles on which Tito never yielded. Nikola Ljubicic gave primary place to the principle of reliance on one's own forces, without waiting for help from outside, in successfully resisting any enemy which might try to endanger our freedom and peace. He then recalled the words spoken by Comrade Tito during his stay in Jajce in November 1968: "We would not ask anyone for help because we have sufficient forces based on the very great unity of our peoples who are determined to defend their sovereignty." What force and symbolism there are in Tito's words! What power and inspiration there are in the words which he spoke when, in his own singular manner, he sharply and clearly told everyone in the world that "spheres of interest stop at our borders." Words such as this could only be spoken by a man who deeply knew his people's longing for freedom, revolutionary aspirations and heroism, by a man who witnessed manifestation of these aspirations on the Neretva, at Sutjeska and in many other war and postwar battles of our revolution.

"We do not give away what is ours, and we do not want what does not belong to us!" Is a strategic principle of exceptional importance for increasing the moral strength of all the defenders of our socialist self-managing community who recognize that their blood and sweat will never be used for conquering foreign territories or for promoting foreign interests but exclusively for defending the freedom, peace and progress of their country, Nikola Ljubici stated. The nature of the ideo-political commitment of our soldiers and citizens does not contain hatred for any other people because we--inspired by Tito's teaching about the defense of the country--defend and concurrently build bridges of friendship to all our neighbors and to all the peoples of the world. How extensive and real this friendship will become depends only on us but also on others.

Nikola Ljubici cited another great strategic principle inherited from Tito, which is complete independence in directing the development of the country, the independence of our movement, the independence of the LCY, and the independence of the SFRY in taking measures and steps in the domestic and foreign political spheres in struggling for peace and progress and in choosing those forms of international cooperation and solidarity which are mutually beneficial.

Although it requires great efforts, following this path has brought many good results, and not only for us.

Thanks to this, today we can freely and proudly speak to and cooperate with all countries and peoples, small and big, and with all political parties and progressive movements on an equal footing.

The ideas we inherited from Tito regarding the creation of the system of armed people, which is scientifically and ideo-politically embodied in the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection, are especially important for our defense and security, Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic stressed, adding that Tito devoted a great part of his theoretical and revolutionary work to this problem.

In this respect, there is an impressive written inheritance which serves as a source of inspiration now and in the future. Remaining consistently on Tito's course of preparing the country for defense, we are making the system of defense and protection an integral part of the social system of socialist self-management, Army General Ljubicic said. As Comrade Tito said at the 11th LCY Congress, the class interests of the working class and socialist self-managing relations are the basis of this system. Comrade Tito emphasized that the working people and citizens--the self-managers--must themselves organize their defense and self-protection in the work of organizations and in the socio-political organizations, must include most of the population of both sexes, especially youth and in the activities of defense and protection, and must turn every village, hamlet, factory and town into a fortress and into an integral part of the great Yugoslav defense system.

Speaking about the unity and brotherhood of our nations and nationalities, Nikola Ljubicic underscored that there was hardly a public speech or written text in which Comrade Tito did not emphasize the need to develop brotherhood and unity. Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic then recalled Comrade Tito's words during his visit to Kosovo in October 1969: "On this occasion, too, I would like to emphasize the importance of brotherhood and unity because these were always our main strength. This was the case during the war as well as during the entire postwar period. This is also the case today. Even the greatest difficulties can be overcome in harmony. Therefore, I appeal to you and to all our nations and nationalities to guard brotherhood and unity. We must constantly repeat this. It must become clear to everyone that each one of us, on his own, is nothing and that united we can achieve everything..."

See what has been achieved here, and in Kosovo, yet, despite this, there is now speculation about Kosovo. There is much speculation about this in various places abroad. There are hopes for discord in order to reap some profit. Of course, this is part of the speculation which is being made about our country in general. Each difficulty, everything that we ourselves criticize, is being sought after, overemphasized and incorrectly interpreted, while our enormous achievements are being passed over in silence. We must not lose sight of the fact that our brotherhood and unity are also being undermined from inside the country. There was talk about this here, too. I think that this was intensified recently.

Nikola Ljubicic then noted that Comrade Tito had not considered brotherhood and unity to be things which existed automatically. As a dialectician and Marxist he always stressed that our unity must develop concurrently with the all-round development of every nation and nationality and of all of us together, and he clearly indicated where we should look for the enemy and what direction our actions should take. The strengthening of unity must in the future be the primary objective of all our aspirations, and this is particularly the case today when the enemy is trying to destroy our unity by fanning nationalistic passions and thus call into question our socio-political system, our order and the wholeness of our country.

Our entire war and postwar experience indicates, Nikola Ljubicic went on to say, that independence, autonomy and unhindered development can only be preserved if we are completely ready and united to defend the inviolability of our borders, our national sovereignty and our socialist self-managing development with all our might, with every means and by relying primarily on our own forces.

In praising the concept of all-people's defense in the postwar period, Comrade Tito was stressing that the experiences which we gained in the national liberation war are of the greatest value to us, and not only to us, Nikola Ljubicic noted. During the most difficult war years of 1941, Comrade Tito showed both personal courage and the courage of a commander in calling on the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia to launch an uprising against the most powerful war machine of that time. He did this at a time when Yugoslavia was destroyed, divided, without a trained cadre and without sources of supply for arms and other equipment. What showed most in such a situation was the high consciousness and morale of our people. It showed that the creativity of people inspired by patriotism and proletarian class-consciousness has practically no limits.

Those chapters of Tito's revolutionary creative work and vision which refer to our military doctrine and to the strategy of armed struggle and resistance by which real replies are given to the numerous questions of preparing and waging an all-people's defensive war against the most difficult forms of aggression have a far-reaching significance for the preparation of the country for defense and for the safeguarding of the gains of the revolution. Tito established more than just the general principles of opposition to aggression, Nikola Ljubicic said.

For Tito, all-people's defense was a synthesis of the experience gained in the national liberation war, in armed battle and in all other forms of struggle and resistance which are continually changing under the pressure of the powerful development of science and technology and of armed forces in today's world.

In pointing out the social roots of the country's defense forces, Tito tried to get to the bottom of the complex ideo-political issues on which the strength of a country such as ours rests and develops. He saw this strength primarily in our working man and citizen who is very conscious and ready to fight for freedom and to preserve the gains of the revolution and of socialist self-managing construction.

We also saw this strength in the broad masses which can be activated and turned into a force which no war machine of any aggressor can destroy. He saw this strength first and foremost in "the hearts, thoughts and consciousness of our people."

Proceeding from the basic conclusion that "people resolve war" and even though he never underestimated the significance of the technical factor Tito always believed that tactics of struggle could be found to eliminate the technical superiority of the aggressor even when he possessed the most modern technology. In this connection, Ljubicic presented Tito's well known thesis about the strength of our defense resting on two equally important factors. The moral-political firmness and the psychological preparedness of our working people. These two factors complement each other and are an inseparable whole. Only people who are morally and politically firm and psychologically prepared, Army General Ljubicic stressed, can successfully overcome all trials and tribulations inherent in a war. In the same vein, he added, it is only through comprehensive military readiness that aggression can be efficiently rebuffed or prevented from taking place.

Speaking about Tito's military work, the federal secretary for national defense noted that, in his revolutionary work concerned with the strengthening of the country's defense forces, Tito paid particular attention to the development of the Yugoslav People's Army and of the armed forces as a whole. He also took an active interest in the development of organizational standards and frameworks, in technical modernization, in the class and national cadre structure and, particularly, in the morale of the members of the army, their ideo-political education, their living conditions, their mutual relations, their comradeship and their discipline. In this respect, he always stressed several essential features which he wanted to be part of the foundation of army life and of every single military collective. These features were: the revolutionary, class and popular character of the army and the moral image of its members as created in the national liberation war and in the revolution, Nikola Ljubicic stressed.

Speaking about the character of our army, Comrade Tito among other things stressed that the Yugoslav People's Army must continue to be a large-scale school of socialist education for our young generation. Young people in the army should be educated even more comprehensively in the foundation of Marxism; in the spirit of brotherhood and unity, full equality of our nations and nationalities; in line with the achievements and the glorious traditions of our national liberation war and socialist revolution, and in line with the achievements of our socialist self-management and the policy of independence and nonalignment.

Nikola Ljubicic then went on to say that Comrade Tito told the entire army structure that our country's borders and our self-managing system are sacred and things which we shall not allow anybody to touch. Many died for the creation of such a Yugoslavia. It is therefore our duty to them and to future generations to safeguard and defend Yugoslavia. Comrade Tito created the defense system of our country and this system will translate his words into deeds.

[Words indistinct] Comrade Tito paid to the action and organization ability of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army and to the moral-political and working image of an officer, a communist, Nikola Ljubicic stressed. He would use every meeting with army members to stress the ethical values created in the revolution. During such meetings he stressed that the League of Communists in the army must be a firm organization, that it must take severe measures against those who get in the way, who are not for the LCY platform and who make difficulties along the path on which the LCY marches.

Speaking about Tito's life and revolutionary work, army General Ljubicic said among other things that one of the crucial components of Tito's strategy, as a revolutionary and military leader, was his deep faith in workers, peasants, in the intelligentsia, his faith in the strength of the people and the ability to motivate millions of people and all human and material potentials for armed struggle and resistance should the country be attacked. This could only be done by a man who learned from broad popular masses, who for years followed and studied their aspirations, who never separated himself from workers and from the working people in general. This is also why we say that Tito's strategy is the strategy of the working class--this, the most progressive force in society in which Tito always had backing and support. This strategy, therefore, remains our lasting inspiration in our creative work in the sphere of our country's security.

The Yugoslav nations and nationalities, our working people and citizens, young people, the League of Communists and our armed forces are inspired today and always by Comrade Tito's teaching and work, and they will be grateful to him for all the victories and successes in the revolution and in socialist construction.

They will be grateful for the hard-won freedom and independence which have become sacred things for our nations and nationalities, grateful for love and his noble heart in which there was room for every man in the world, regardless of national [words indistinct] generations of Yugoslavs will know to defend. They will proudly march along Tito's paths and safeguard his great work--Socialist Yugoslavia--and Comrade Tito needs no greater pledge and no more beautiful [words indistinct], said Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense.

Bilic Address

LD051256 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 4 May 81

[Speech by Jure Bilic, president of Croat Assembly, at 4 May commemmorative session on first anniversary of Tito's death, in great hall of Croat Assembly, Zagreb--live]

[Excerpts] Comrades, today is the first anniversary of the death of our president, Comrade Josip Broz Tito. I call on you to demonstrate solidarity and gratitude to Tito and his work with a minute of silence. [Moment of silence is observed]

Unforgettable glory and greatest thanks to him!

Comrades, 1 year has passed, the first year in our modern history without Tito, the year of our greatest sorrow and the year of serious work and even trials. But also a year of pride because we have learned in a much broader and deeper sense what we mean in the world and what Tito meant to the world.

Our task and the task of the generations to come is to safeguard Tito's great heritage, and this means to continue to develop the gains of the revolution, in the first place, the full equality of the nations and nationalities and socialist self-managing democracy, without which democratic freedoms would be mere formalism. In practical terms, this means to build the social system in which the leading role of the working class will be implemented. Our worker, true enough, is no longer a hired worker, but he has still not become the master of all the processes of social reproduction. In order that he may do that, it is necessary to implement the basic premises of the program of the League of Communists and the Constitution and this means that we become master of all social functions of producers and self-managers. Workers alone are the builders of their happiness because nobody can give them this happiness. They must build it themselves.

Tito was the constant champion of the collective spirit, collective work and collective responsibility. It is from this that his great idea stemmed about the introduction of collective work and responsibility in our political life as the universal criterion. The best example of this is the work and the functioning of the SFRY Presidency as the collective head of state, which enjoys the trust of our people. And the Presidency is the living example of the equality of our republics and provinces and the strongest barrier to all conjectures voiced by our enemies: What will happen in Yugoslavia after Tito?

We are building a strong League of Communists, self-managing organs and organizations, the delegate system. We are developing our federal communities of equal nations and nationalities, peaceful and active cooperation with the world [word indistinct] and the [word indistinct] begun with Tito is our future. And one of the greatest guarantees to our working class and all working people of towns and villages and to all of our nations and nationalities is to fight for what they feel to be theirs.

The Socialist Republic of Croatia in the SFRY, the Croatian people, the Serbian people and all nationalities living in it will carry out their duty to Tito and his work.

The Croatian people, together with the Serbian people and with the nationalities of Croatia, know full well that there is no freedom without unity of the community of equal nations and nationalities. It knows to appreciate this and it will know to safeguard this forever, just as all other nations and nationalities have arrived at this knowledge and are also resolved to defend with their lives the acquired independence and equality.

Some had even wished for the division and disintegration, disappearance and occupation of Yugoslavia. They forgot that Tito's work is great because it represents an expression of the interests of this people and his work would not be great were it not lasting.

The latest events in Kosovo have convinced us of both assertions: that we have enemies and that they cannot do anything to us because we want nothing else except the kind of Yugoslavia we are building. Most of the progressive people, our friends abroad, politically and culturally prominent people, have understood the kind of sinister forces that were at work. Some do not want to grasp this because the deprecator, activity of our emigres and of some intelligence service suits them. However, both our strength and resolve are known in opposing any interference in our relations from outside, just as we do not want to interfere in others' affairs. Was not the fact that the people of Kosovo were the first to oppose the wreckers of our unity the most valuable one? No force would be sufficient if the people did not oppose counter-revolutionary phenomena. And second, that people did not remain alone; immediately all people reacted, and again first and foremost the working people, because they are most sensitive about the gains of the revolution. Whatever part of our community might be touched, all of us are equally sensitive and all of us react in like manner. This is the true confirmation of our safeguarding every inch of the country created by blood, the equitable and, for us, happy country. Our enemies, too, should know this.

We shall have to analyze in great detail yet the counterrevolutionary attempt in Kosovo and draw from that analysis the most important lessons; for all of us, for the entire country. What represents a great danger for us is political blindness and opportunism. Similar attempts must no longer catch us unawares.

Loyalty to the homeland and the feeling of responsibility for its freedom and integrity, responsibility for everything which we do was that which Comrade Tito had ceaselessly instilled in us.

Just as we struggle in the country for equality of nations and equality of people, so we shall, in the international sphere, continue to advocate equality and mutual respect, peace and active cooperation and noninterference in the relations and affairs which are the exclusive right of every people. True, the situation in the world is complicated. [Word indistinct] various interest and various kinds of mistrust, but the path which we have chosen, together with all nonaligned countries, and with all countries and forces which want peace and equitable cooperation, mutual respect and understanding, without impositions and pressures--we regard as the only alternative to division of world into blocs and to living in constant fear from the castastrophe of war.

This area of ours has seen considerable [word indistinct]. There is no suffering which our people has not felt. We were oppressed, fragmented and (?sold out)[words indistinct], they trampled on us and the traitors helped them. We have had enough of such games which lead to fresh conflicts, catastrophes and hopelessness to the benefit of alien groups and alien interests. Our country is making and will continue to make its contribution to the world, nonalignment and active cooperation with all countries, to the change in the world economic order in which every people and every man will live in greater dignity. We are convinced that this policy is correct. The strength of this policy has raised us to enviable heights.

Dizdarevic Comments

LD051328 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 4 May 81

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 4 May (TANJUG)--A year has passed since Tito's death, yet we live ever more deeply by his thought and work, said Raif Dizdarevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, speaking at a republican session commemorating the first anniversary of Tito's death. [Passage indistinct]

The president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina then spoke about certain topical issues regarding intranational relations in our country, saying, among other things:

We must always recall the experience in the sphere of intranational relations which we acquired through Tito's work of genius. We must recall this and be guided by it, in particular at this moment, Dizdarevic emphasized, for we are confronted by assaults upon brotherhood and unity and upon our community, by nationalist manifestations in the country and by incessant attempts provoked from abroad to instigate and support all sorts of nationalism. The counterrevolutionary riots in Kosovo bear witness to this. All aspects of this incident and certain other aspirations directed against our integrity are perpetrated against us from a number of foreign centers.

The correct response, Dizdarevic underlined, is for us to insist even more consistently on full respect for the principles of equality and unity, on consolidation of the brotherhood and unity of all our nations and nationalities, on consistent achievement of the relations established in the Constitution [words indistinct] opportunist and liberalist attitude toward nationalism. We must also learn from actions and negative phenomena in our practice which have stirred up and even inflamed nationalism, which have fostered a lack of vigilance toward nationalism. We dare not allow any nationalistic reaction to nationalist provocations, which would sow distrust among the entire population. We must at this moment oppose any manifestation of distrust toward those of Albanian nationality. We must likewise struggle against nationalist manifestations in every nation and nationality.

We must affirm our Tito's experience that the affirmation and equality of each individual nation cannot be realized at the cost of [words indistinct]:

Our national policy, Dizdarevic went on, has always shown a class approach to all phenomena within individual nations and nationalities, in relations between them and in our community's relations with the countries in which other sectors of our nations and nationalities live. In our revolution we always united, both within individual nations and nationalities and in our community, according to who was fighting for freedom, equality, brotherhood and unity, for self-managing socialist development and for this country's independent course, for these are the conditions of full national freedom for all, and of joint ability to defend the system in which this freedom may alone be realized.

We are convinced, stressed the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, that communists, [words indistinct] the people of Kosovo--Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and others--will [word indistinct] forces and with the support of the entire community, overcome both the causes and the consequences of the counterrevolutionary actions. All of us in Yugoslavia must draw lessons from these events, so that we do not allow repetition anywhere else of the causes that gave rise to them and made them possible.

Dizdarevic then stated that in this year following Tito's death we have unfortunately been confronted with pointedly aggressive and deliberately organized use of various means of special war against our country.

On the one hand, he said, we are exposed to crude attempts to legalize hostile opposition activity in our country, under (?pressure) from abroad. Individuals and groups who have made themselves known through their destructive activity, are encouraged and directly or indirectly managed from abroad and are supported by propaganda and other means, serve this interest. On the other hand, crude assaults are also being made on our integrity and sovereignty, on the foundations of our community which were established by AVNOJ [Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], assaults on our unity which are without [word indistinct].

With this aim, Dizdarevic went on, political subversions and counterrevolutionary actions are stirred up, backed and even organized, as has been shown by the recent riots in Kosovo and by the attitude of certain circles abroad to these riots. The sowing of the adventuristic seed of greater-national territorial pretensions by the denial of national integrity and self-determination of certain of our peoples is in the same vein. Both greater-Albanian irridentists from Tirana and those conservative and reactionary tendencies and forces in the modern world of which they are a part are mixed up in this, as are other greater-national chauvinists who poison relations by attacks on our integrity, alongside nationalists of all hues and relics of the [word indistinct] emigration.

Emphasizing that it must be clear to all that we shall defend the achievements fought for and won with Tito leading us, and Tito's authentic path for our development, against any attack by anyone, Dizdarevic said that working people and citizens are widely demonstrating their concern and responsibility that our development should in all these issues continue along the path we traveled with Tito.

Ckrebic Speech

AU051420 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 4 May 81

[Speech by Dusan Ckrebic, president of the Serbian Assembly, at a commemorative meeting of organs and organizations of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on Tito's death and anniversary, at the Sava center in Belgrade--live]

[Excerpts] A year has elapsed since the death of Comrade Tito, a giant of our people, a strategist of the revolution, statesman and fighter for peace, whose life and work made a mark on the era in which we live.

Under Tito's leadership, Yugoslav federalism arose and was developed and built. The brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities, their equality and the right to decide independently on all questions of their socioeconomic and cultural development lie at its basis. Yugoslavia has become an example of an open, democratic and free country, in which the national problem has been solved in a democratic way.

In our country, relations within the federation are regulated in a unique way. Resolving, on the basis of Marxist theory, the relationship between the class and the nation, we abolished any form of predominant majority among the subjects of our federal community. Real relations are based on agreement and accord, respect for differences and the deepening of mutual trust and solidarity. On these foundations, which enjoy deep respect throughout the world, tremendous progress, new expanses of freedom and prospects for successful development of all our peoples and nationalities have been attained. Therefore, brotherhood and unity remain alive as Tito's message and our pledge for the future.

Building our socialist self-managing society cannot be achieved without efforts, difficulties and conflicts, despite the clear ideological and political views of principle.

Differences in the level of economic development as well as the cultural and historical heritage of the past in our country are responsible for the objective existence of various interests, which are not always simple and easy to harmonize.

In addition to the objectively existing differences in interests, one should bear in mind that we decided on the road of socialist self-management exclusively on the basis of ideological and practical revolutionary premises and experiences which arose in our workers movement, the liberation struggle and the socialist revolution. Therefore, ideological struggles and differentiations were a necessary accompaniment of our development.

Comrade Tito knew well that obstacles, difficulties and objective and subjective shortcomings await us along the road of socialist self-management. With the feeling of a strategist of the revolution, he assessed the several courses and actions in society and in the League of Communists, constantly pointing out the need to preserve the authentic historical values and achievements of the Yugoslav road of socialism.

In a multinational community like ours, Comrade Tito often reminded us, a constant cultivation and development of brotherhood and unity, and the policy of national equality, is of special importance. Opposing all forms of unitarianism, in our development we faced another, extremely dangerous and destructive tendency: nationalism and chauvinism. Proceeding from the premise that the national problem in essence is a class problem, the League of Communists and Tito most resolutely resisted these occurrences, forces and their protagonists.

With the firm and full support of the people, a decisive struggle was waged against nationalism and chauvinism and their antisocialist, counterrevolutionary, antipeople and anticlass essence. The experiences of those days undoubtedly have a much wider significance, and we must always and everywhere struggle, with Titoite determination, against the specters of nationalism and chauvinism wherever they may appear.

The struggle against dogmatic statism was waged in the very fact of building the socialist self-managing society. However, dangers of the other extreme, liberalism and anarcho-liberalism, gathered over our society at a time. Tito knew that these attractive quasi-libertarian, socialist and self-managing ideas hide an unacceptable class content. Enjoying the widest support of our peoples and nationalities and the workers class, the League of Communists and Comrade Tito successfully settled accounts with and unmasked this anti-self-managing orientation.

During the past year we continued where Tito had stopped, struggling to further build the socialist self-managing society, to eliminate and overcome the difficulties and shortcomings which accompany us, and for the future overall rapid and comprehensive development of our country.

The fears expressed in some places for the stability and security of Yugoslavia have been shown to be unjustified. In fact only those who actually did not know us well had fears. It is correct that precisely this year, because of the very unfavorable trends in international economic relations and difficulties in the economy, we have been facing serious problems of economic instability, but it is also correct that precisely in this year we began to reap the first significant results in the field of stabilization of economic trends.

Our enemies try to exploit the difficulties and shortcomings which follow us, testing our unity and exposing us to various internal and external challenges and pressures. The latest events in Kosovo show that such assaults have no chance of success, that we are firm, united and rallied round the policy of the League of Communists.

Enemies of all colors who thought that with the loss of Tito they had a chance to realize their counterrevolutionary, hostile, destructive and chauvinist aims were able to convince themselves of the firmness and strength of our country and the determination of our peoples to further build socialist self-managing socioeconomic relations in peace and freedom, independence and nonalignment, made brothers in the equal community of peoples and nationalities.

Through nationalist euphoria, the enemies of socialism in Kosovo try to indoctrinate especially the young people, as well as the workers class and other working people. They cannot succeed in this, for the young and capable workers class of Kosovo has very quickly recognized and discerned what is socialist self-management and what is the darkness of Stalinism, nationalism and the counterrevolution. The basic force in the struggle against irredentism, great-Albanian nationalism and attempts at a counter-revolution consists precisely of the youth, the young workers class in Kosovo, the League of Communists and all the working people and citizens of that province.

The Serbian people, as all the Yugoslav people and nationalities, are deeply and permanently linked with the work of Comrade Tito. The people in whom the libertarian and socialist ideas and the first ideas about self-management have arisen and developed, and who made tremendous sacrifices in the struggle for the national and social liberation of the entire country, are firmly devoted to the ideals of brotherhood and unity and equality of our peoples and nationalities. From their long historical experience and glorious battle traditions, the Serbian people see in the community with other Yugoslav peoples and nationalities a realization of the aims of their struggle for freedom through the centuries.

The League of Communists and Tito have not fought only for a distant, I may say unattainable, happier future, whose fruits could be felt only by our descendants, but for a society whose fruits of development will be enjoyed also by those who create it, the present generations of the workers class and all the working people.

We must not for a single minute lose sight of the original interests of the workers class. We must watch carefully and be vigilant so that no partial interest will turn us away from the framework of our togetherness in which the basic interests and values of our workers class and all our peoples and nationalities are contained. Whether investment projects, the foreign exchange system, the market or anything similar is at stake, we must not give preponderance to individual interests but must always bear in mind the need to preserve the cohesion of the Yugoslav workers class and our peoples. There is no partial interest that would be above our mutual trust and togetherness. It would be opposed to Tito's work and Tito's thought.

Of course, we must further improve the system of socialist self-management, and we must enrich our internal relations with new content, always supported by the imperishable basic values of the League of Communists and Tito's work. Tito's work binds us not only to protect it and to base our future on it, but also to develop it further in the same spirit. The constant development and advancement of Tito's heritage must be an encouragement and obligation, a road and inspriation expecially for young people. The young generations must be brought up in Tito's spirit and on his work. To express respect alone is not enough. One must go forward, solving complex social problems and building Tito's thought in our reality and our future.

LIBYAN MINISTERS VISIT BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

LD011426 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 1 May 81

[Text] Mostar--Two members of the government of friendly and nonaligned SPLAJ [Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah] Jum'ah Salim al-Arbash, secretary for nuclear energy, arrived in Mostar today with a group of aides.

Accompanied by Dragutin Kosovac, chairman of the administrative board of the Energoinvest composite organization of associated labor, the visitors from Libya inspected the electrolysis plant of Energoinvest in Mostar and during the afternoon will see Mostar's cultural and historical monuments and leave for Sarajevo.

The Libyan ministers' visit represents the continuation of the talks held in Belgrade between Colonel al-Qadhdhafi and highest-ranking Yugoslav officials on concrete themes connected with economic cooperation between the two countries. Within the framework of this cooperation Energoinvest occupies a prominent place and it is certain that the current contacts in Mostar and Sarajevo will constitute a further step in the deepening of the traditionally good economic links between the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its Libyan partners.

BORBA APPRAISES BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH LIBYA

AU051939 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 81 p 8

[Slobodan Pavlovic commentary: "Continuity"]

[Text] Following the practice that has now lasted more than a decade, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, will arrive on a visit to our country tomorrow. It will be a 2-day official and friendly visit during which Colonel al-Qadhdhafi and his associates will meet and hold talks with Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and other ranking Yugoslav personalities.

The Libyan Jamahiriyah and the SFRY are linked by ties of friendship and of their developed cooperation, as well as by their mutual engagement in implementing the nonaligned policy. The foundations of these diverse relations were laid by President Tito and Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, who met alternately three times each in the capitals of the two friendly nonaligned countries, and at each of the meetings strengthened and expanded the relations and cooperation between Tripoli and Belgrade.

A year ago Yugoslavia lost its beloved president but it firmly continues to follow his road and the important guests from the Libyan Jamahiriyah will be able to convince themselves of that. The continuity of Tito's policy will be manifested during the talks between Mijatovic and Al-Qadhdhafi and, in general during the entire visit of the leader of the Libyan revolution, the visit in which both sides are interested and which is expected to move the two countries even closer to each other.

Yugoslavia is directly present in Libya through more than 5,000 of its workers, technicians, physicians, engineers and other experts (true, formerly there were even more of them there and thus the talks today and tomorrow will certainly deal with that topic also) whom Comrade Tito, during his last visit to Tripoli 2 years ago, called "a bridge of cooperation, better mutual acquaintance and rapprochement between the two friendly and nonaligned Mediterranean countries."

On the other hand, Libya is, after Iraq, our leading economic partner among all the developing countries. It is a partner with whom our reciprocal trade reached the record total of $420 million last year. According to the statistics, that was an increase of nearly 80 percent as compared with 1979 and, at the same time, a signal and an encouragement for further similar breakthroughs and achievements because the pertinent figures and mutual balances, too, show that there is much more room for maneuvering in that direction. The good will and the potential exist for further shifts in that direction and to gradually achieve an equilibrium in the mutual balance of payments, which is rather unfavorable for our side ($164 million against $236 million), primarily as a result of spending increasingly large funds to buy Libyan oil.

The composition of the delegation accompanying Colonel al-Qadhdahfi unambiguously shows that great attention will be devoted to these problems during the talks today and tomorrow. It is realistic to expect that new accords and agreements will be concluded that will remove the existing obstacles and open new opportunities to further expand scientific-technical and investment cooperation (the latter has reached a total value of $1.6 billion) and to advance industrial production cooperation which will make the joint actions and more lasting engagement of the two countries in third markets possible.

The sensitive situation at numerous points throughout the world, which characterizes the period that the leader of the Libyan revolution is visiting our country for the fourth time, demands that an appeal to the world be addressed from the Belgrade talks, the world that appears to be more and more removed from stable and just international relations. That is a special task and obligation for the nonaligned countries, among which are the SFRY and the Libyan Jamahiriyah; at their latest big meetings, in Havana and in New Delhi, they traced the roads leading to peaceful solutions of the existing problems and disputes. They will successfully fulfill their responsible role in building better and more just international relations only if they themselves also consistently adhere to the principles that they have proclaimed and for which they demand respect from others. In other words, they must provide an example of justly settling disputes by peaceful means and with full mutual respect and assistance and without any outside interference. If they fail to act in this manner, they are then faced with bloc interference and intervention that threatens not only their security and independence but also, in general, the peace and stability of the world in which we live.

BRIEFS

BANK CREDIT TO KOSOVO--Washington, 1 May (TANJUG)--The board of (?executive) directors of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development in Washington today [word indistinct] modernization of the railway network in the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The project which is to be financed by this credit includes the modernization of telecommunications equipment on railways in Kosovo. The credit was granted under the usual favorable terms with a three-year grace period and a 9.6 percent interest rate. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 1 May 81 LD]

COOPERATION WITH USSR--Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)--An agreement on long-term Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation in the production of freight vehicles was signed here in Belgrade today. The Yugoslav "Utva" of Pancevo, Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and foreign-trade organization "Progres" of Belgrade and the Soviet "Autoeksport" foreign-trade association have decided through 1985 mutually to exchange freight vehicles and parts totalling 680 million dinars. Under the agreement, Yugoslav producers will deliver parts, fittings, power units and trailers for the production of freight vehicles. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1714 GMT 29 Apr 81 LD]